[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

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NATURE OF THE ISLAMIC STATE

EVER since the word *theocracy* was coined by Flavius Josephus (A.D. 37-100) to characterise the type of the Israelite state which existed in the first century of the Christian era, the term has gained currency among publicists and was applied to all states governed by religious codes or states whose religious and political institutions presented a unity.[1] The Islamic state was no exception to the rule and, therefore, has been classified, from the point of view of the incidence and exercise of authority, as a theocracy.[2] A careful examination of the nature of the Islamic state shows, however, that it was not a theocratic state but falls under a different category of states. The writer has briefly touched on this point elsewhere,[3] but it is possible now, within the space allowed in this review, to treat the subject more adequately.

I

The principles of Muḥammad's (P.B.O.H.) ideal state are to be found in the *Qur'ān* [which he probably contemplated, had he lived longer, to translate into a reality.][4] It is true that the term state (*dawlah*) is neither used in the *Qur'ān* nor was it in vogue at Muḥammad's time, but the essential elements that constitute a state were referred to in the *Qur'ān* which clearly indicate that the concept, if not the term, state was specifically meant in the *Qur'ān*.

1. See J. C. Bluntschli, *Allgemeine Statslehre* (Stuttgart, 1875), pp. 390, 397-399; Fritz Kern, *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages*, trans. S. B. Chrines, (Oxford, 1939), pp. 27-34; F. G. Wilson, *The Elements of Modern Politics*, (New York, 1936), pp. 87-88.

2. See J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, trans. M. G. Weir, (Calcutta, 1927), pp. 5, 8. T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, (3rd ed., London, 1935), p. 32; Muḥammad Ḥamidullah, *Muslim Conduct of State*, (Lahore, 1945), pp. 74, 180.

3. See my *Law of War and Peace in Islam*, (London, 1941), pp. 6-7.

4. Very few publicists have argued that Muḥammad's mission, like that of Christ, aimed at the propagation of a new faith rather than the setting up of a state. See Ali Abd-ul-Raziq, *al-Islam wa Usul al-Ḥukm*, (Cairo, 1925), pp. 64-89. For criticism of Raziq's theory, see A. Sanhoury, *Le Califat*, (Paris, 1926), pp. 45-48.

The *Qur'ān* often refers to organized authority, divine and unlimited, which belongs to *Allah*.[1] The sovereignty of the Islamic state resides, therefore, with *Allah*. The exercise of that ultimate authority or sovereignty was delegated to the Prophet Muḥammad, or *Allah's* vicegerent on earth, who was instructed to rule with justice.[2] *Allah*, accordingly, was regarded in Islam as the [*titular*] *head*, not the direct ruler or king of the Islamic state, while His vicegerent on earth was advised to rule in accordance with divine laws communicated to him in the form of *commands*. The citizens of the Islamic state were *Allah's* subjects (عباد الله), and its laws were divine laws, because they emanated from *Allah*, not enacted or legislated by man. Divine law, as such, is infallible and man can only obey, because *Allah* knows better than any other authority what His ignorant subjects need. In his attempt to consummate his obedience to law, man realises his religious ideal. Law in Islam, accordingly, has the character of a religious obligation ; at the same time it constitutes a political sanction of religion.[3]

Upon the death of Muḥammad (P.B.O.H.), communication with *Allah* became impossible, because there was no other Prophet and Muḥammad was the last, " the seal of the Prophets."[4] It was tacitly understood by the Muslims, however, that *Allah* had delegated the exercise of His sovereignty, after the death of Muḥammad, to the Muslim community, which immediately elected a successor to Muḥammad, not in the capacity of a prophet but as a *caliph*, or successor, to Muḥammad's position as a vicegerent of *Allah*. In theory, therefore, sovereignty, as the ultimate divine authority in Islam, remained in *Allah's* hands, but its exercise was delegated to the people of the Islamic state. In practice, however, the caliphate, which was inherently an elective position, had become virtually hereditary, though consent (bai'a البيعة) of the people was required for every new caliph.[5]

1. *Qur'ān* ; XXIX, 75 ; CXIV, 2-3.

2. *Qur'ān* ; XXXVIII, 25. " O David ! verily We have made thee Our vicegerent upon earth. Judge therefore between men with truth, and follow not the passion, lest they cause thee to err from the way of *Allah*. . ." States have crumbled to pieces because its rulers have failed to abide by the divine law. Moses and his brother went to Pharaoh because he " transgressed (the bounds of law)," and had become a " tyrant in the land." (*Qur'ān* ; V, 84 ; XX. 25). See H. K. Sherwani, " The Origin of Islamic Polity," *Islamic Culture*, Vol. X. (October, 1936), p. 538.

3. M. Khadduri, *Law of War and Peace in Islam*, pp. 7-8, 9-10 ; Abdur Rahim, *The Principles of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, (Madras, 1911), pp. 48 ff ; N. P. Aghnides, *Mohammadan Theories of Finance*, (New York, 1916), pp. 23-29 ; D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, (New York, 1903), pp. 65 ff ; I. Goldziher, *Le Dogme et la loi de L'Islam*, (Paris, 1920), pp. 27 ff.

4. *Qur'ān* , XXXIII, 40.

5. Practice had much deviated from theory in the exercise of the caliphate. The caliphs indeed had monopolised all the powers of Cæsar, and some of them, in the Abbasid period, even claimed that they directly represented *Allah* on earth. On the origins and use of the divine rights of the caliphs, see Ignaz Goldziher " Ombre de dieu, Khalife de dieu," *Reveue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Vol. XXV (1897), pp. 331-338. See also Ibn-Jama'a *Tahrir al-Ahkam fi Tadbir Ahl al-Islam* in *Islamica*, (1934), Vol. VI, pp. 355-356.

II

Could such a state be called a theocracy?

Any definition of the term " state " should take into consideration the incidence and exercise of political authority as a criterion of its nature and character. A state is called monarchical or oligarchical (in the Aristotelian sense), if its ultimate authority is entrusted, by force or reason, to one or the few ; it is democratic, if ultimate authority is regarded flowing from, and by the consent of, the people. A state is *theocratic* if it " claims to be governed by a god or gods."[1] The *Oxford Dictionary* defines it as " a form of government in which God (or a deity) is recognised as the king or immediate ruler."[2]

In its origin the term theocracy was coined by Flavius Josephus to characterise the type of the Israelite state which existed in the first century of the Christian era.[3] Tailliar is of the opinion that Judaism, Christianity and Islam were all theocracies.[4] Wellhausen, however, maintains that Jewish theocracy existed only in theory, that is, an ideal representation at the time of Jewish decline.[5] Christianity, on the other hand, was not originally associated with politics, since Jesus Christ had declared " My kingdom is not of this World."[6] From the time of St. Paul to that of Emperor Constantine, the tradition was laid down in Christianity that every power possessing authority in the state ought to be recognised as a divinely ordained authority.[7] When the state adopted Christianity the sanction of the church became necessary for political authority, and the aim of the state had become, in the words of Kern, to " put God's law into practice."[8] At that stage Christianity and the state had come so

1. C. Ryder Smith, " Theocracy," *The Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, pp. 287-289.

2. See also Georg Jellinck, *Allgemeine Statslehre*, (3rd ed., Berlin, 1919), p.289.

3. " There are innumerable differences," says Josephus, " in the particular customs and laws that are among mankind ; some have entrusted the power of their states to monarchies, some to oligarchies, and some to democracies ; but our legislator had no regard to any of these forms, but ordered our government to be what I may call by a strained expression a *theocracy*, attributing the power and the authority to God " [translated from the Greek and cited by J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, trans. R. F. Black and A. Menzies (Edinburgh, 1885), p. 411n.]

4. M. Tailliar, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Institutions de Principaux Peuples*, (Douai, 1843) ; *Precis de l'histoire des Institutions de l'Europe Occidentale an Moyen-Age*, (Saint Omer, 1845), passim.

5. " In Ancient Israel," says Wellhausen, " the theocracy never existed in fact as a form of constitution. The rule of Jehovah is here an ideal representation ; only after the exile was it attempted to realise in it the shape of a Rule of the Holy with outward means. " (J. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 411).

6. John, XVIII, 36. " His kingdom," says Tellenbach, " was a supernatural power working in the World and remaining for all others a matter of hope and expectation. Out of Christ's attitude to the World, there arose among the early Christians a tendency to withdraw from temporal affairs and to concentrate on the kingdom of Heaven, " (Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investitute Contest*, trans. R. F. Bennett. (Oxford, 1940), p. 25).

7. Math. XVII, 21 : " render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's ; and to God, the things that are God's." See also Fritz Kern, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

8. Fritz Kern, *op. cit.*, p. 28. See also Tellenbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

nearer to one another that the Christian religion had rather become Christendom.[1]

It is to be noted that God (*Allah*) has never been regarded, as stated above, the *immediate* ruler in Judaism, Christianity or Islam; only his representatives on earth were the real executives. It was therefore the *divine law*, or the sacred code, regarded as the source of governing authority, which was the essential feature in the process of control under such systems. This is what we call a *divine nomocracy*. The *Oxford Dictionary* defines it as " a system of government based on a legal code; the rule of law in a community." " Nomocracy," says Quincy Wright, " exists if a supreme law regarded as of divine or natural origin is the source of governing authority."[2] In Judaism, Christianity and Islam, the immediate rulers were not regarded as legislators, but were, together with their subjects, bound by the divine law. The *Shari'a*, or the sacred code, was the source of the governing authority; only its execution was entrusted to the Prophet or his successors.[3]

III

Christendom and Islam may be regarded as universal nomocratic states, while Judaism was a parochial nomocratic state. Christianity and Islam, it is true, had emerged in countries dominated by parochial traditions and local particularism, but they arose in protest to these conditions and, accordingly adopted universal concepts and ideals current in the Hellenistic World. For the trend of thought since Alexander the Great advocated his revolutionary ideas of " the unity of Mankind "[4] began gradually to turn from parochial to universal values.[5] The Stoics carried further Alexander's ideas and expressed their philosophy in terms of universal concepts and values. The Romans translated Alexander's ideas and the Stoics philosophy into an organised system of life.[6]

1. The principal Biblical verses for the so-called theocratic idea in Christendom are: Mark; IX, 35 X, 42; Math; XX, 26 sq; Luke; XXII, 26.

2. Quincy Wright, *A Study of War*, (Chicago, 1942), Vol. II, p. 968.

3. Theocracy exists only where God is regarded as the immediate ruler. At present it exists where the *Lama* rules (in Tibet) or, under Shintoism, in Japan. See D. C. Holtom, *The Political Philosophy of Modern Shinto*, (Chicago, 1922).

4. See W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind*. Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. XIX. London: Humphrey Milford, 1933. See also T. J. Haarhoff, " Alexander's Dream: The Unity of Mankind," *The Contemporary Review*, (July, 1942), pp. 48-50.

5. Alexander may have been influenced by Buddhism or may have had developed his ideas independently under the influence of the practical considerations of his great military achievements which he thought could only be maintained by the unity of the various races in his new empire. Cf. Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, (London, 1939), Vol. I, p. 86.

6. Ernest Barker, " The Conception of Empire," in Cyril Bailey (ed.), *The Legacy of Rome*, (Oxford, 1923), pp. 46, 51-54. It was the policy of the Roman Senate to confer Roman citizenship upon the conquered populations and to incorporate their territories into the Roman World Empire. See speech of Claudius in the Senate in Tacitus, *The Annals*, (Everyman's ed., 1934), pp. 306-307.

Both Christianity and Islam developed under the impact of these ideas. Thus Islam was bound to be a universal religion and, especially after the great Arab conquest, the Muslims became completely Hellenized.[1] Judaism, which appeared and developed before such concepts were accepted, was naturally parochial and the Jews were regarded as God's chosen people ; their state, therefore, was national and not a universal state.

The universality of Islam, as preached by the Prophet Muḥammad did not necessarily carry with it the conception of a universal or World-state. But the legal prerequisites were already existing, such as the universal conception of religion, equality of races before *Allah* and law, and common allegiance to one head of the state. Thus in theory, as well as in practice, Islam presented a type of a universal nomocratic state since the Abbasid period.

The universal nomocracy of Islam, like the *Respublica Christiana* in the West, assumed mankind to constitute one community, bound by one law and governed by one ruler.[2] The nature of such a state is entirely exclusive ; it does not recognise, by definition, the co-existence of a second universal state. It is true that Islam tolerated Christianity as a religion, but Christendom, as a universal state, was always, in the words of H.A.R. Gibb, " The sworn foe of Islam."[3]

The Islamic nomocracy, however, in contrast to the *Respublica Christiana*, presented, in its legal theory at least, a real unity in the religious and political aspects of the state. Thus the Islamic state spared itself the internal conflict between Church and State which was so characteristic between the Pope and the Emperor.[4] The caliph in Islam was the head of both the Church and the State, as one institution, monopolising, at the same time, all the powers of Cæsar.[5]

MAJID KHADDURI.

1. For the controversy whether Islam was preached by the Prophet as a national or universal religion, see my *Law of War and Peace in Islam*, pp. 4-6.

2. *Qur'ān* ; XXI, 23 : " If there were two gods, the universe would be ruined." But see M. Hamidullah, *Muslim Conduct of State*, (Lahore, 1945), p. 74.

3. H. A. R. Gibb (ed.), *Whither Islam*, (London, 132), p. 24.

4. In Christendom the spiritual and the temporal rulers were separate authorities. There were three theories as to the relation between the spiritual (The Pope) and the temporal (The Emperor) powers. The first advocated the necessary superiority of the spiritual over the temporal powers ; the second, the superiority of the temporal ; and the third, the equality of the two powers. Even the extreme papal party admitted in practice the principle of the separation of powers. See Otto Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Ages*, trans. F. W. Maitland, (Cambridge, 1900), p. 12.

5. Al-Mawardi, *Kitab al Ahkam al Sultaniyah*, (Cairo, 1909), pp. 3-4 ; T. W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, (Oxford, 1924), pp. 47-49 ; H. K. Sherwani, *Studies in Muslim Political Thought and Administration*, (Lahore, 1945), pp. 117-120.

THE RAJPUT POLICY OF AURANGZEB

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR in his *History of Aurangzeb* (Vol. III) has assigned three main causes which determined the Emperor's Rajput policy. The first cause was the commercial importance of Marwar as the shortest and the easiest trade route from the Mughal capital to the rich manufacturing city of Ahmedabad, and the busy port of Cambay, lay through it, and thus its annexation was necessary. The second cause was the aim to divide Rajputana into two unequal halves which could be subjugated in detail, and to take Udaipur in flank, and this could be achieved by the annexation of Marwar. The third cause was Aurangzeb's plan of forcible conversion of Hindus which required that the state of Marwar should become a regular province of the Empire and should be deprived of a possible efficient head.

We shall deal with Sir Jadunath's analysis in detail. It is odd that the commercial importance of Marwar should have dawned for the first time upon Aurangzeb—the least commercial of all the Mughals. It is more than probable that this commercial importance should have been equally manifest to Akbar, Jahangir, and Shahjahan, but none thought it necessary to annex Marwar in order to guard the trade route and there is no reason to believe that Aurangzeb thought, or should have thought, to the contrary. No difficulty had ever been experienced in keeping the trade route open. Aurangzeb himself did not experience any such difficulty from 1658 to 1678—a long period of twenty years. It is therefore strange, that only on the death of Rajah Jaswant Singh in 1678, Aurangzeb should have found it absolutely necessary to annex Marwar in order to guard the trade route. The proper time to put the scheme into execution, if the Emperor ever entertained it, should have been when Jaswant Singh was treacherous and the Emperor had a just cause for annexation. It is also clear that there would have been greater reason to fear for the safety of the route while Marwar was under Rajah Jaswant Singh, a powerful ruler, and the "Leading Hindu Peer," whose conduct had been actively hostile and was far from reassuring, rather than after his death, when a minor was on the throne and the Government a regency. On the other hand there was a likelihood of the route being disturbed by the policy of annexation, as in fact it was, rather than otherwise.

It is therefore abundantly clear that there was no reason whatsoever why Aurangzeb on the death of Jaswant Singh should have been anxious for the safety of the trade route and should have found it necessary to annex Marwar in order to ensure it. In fact there were reasons to the contrary, and this motive must be ruled out as a cause of the Rajput war.

The second motive, according to Sarkar, was to divide Rajputana by the annexation of Marwar into two unequal halves which could be subjugated in detail, and to take in flank the state of Mewar. There is, however, not the slightest foundation for the belief that Aurangzeb ever entertained the wild scheme of annexing the states of Rajputana. Rajputana already owned the sway of the Mughals and its princes were peers of the Empire and servants of the State. The wise scheme of Akbar under which the Rajput princes had been left in possession of their states for accepting Mughal suzerainty and were given positions of power and trust, and a deciding voice in the affairs of the Empire, had proved a success by the unerring test of experience of nearly a century and a half. It had kept Rajputana quiet and had given some of its best statesmen, generals and administrators to the State. Aurangzeb may be credited with sufficient political sense and acumen to realize the necessity of continuing this tried and proved policy, especially when there was no reason for revising it. There is ample evidence to prove that Aurangzeb continued the policy and took pains to follow it. His forbearing treatment of Rajah Jaswant Singh is a case in point, and the fact that Rajput princes continued to serve the State up to the last as soldiers and statesmen, and fought the battles of Aurangzeb in all parts of the Empire, even against Hindu and Rajput princes, is a convincing proof of his having followed the traditional Rajput policy of his ancestors, initiated by Akbar. The motive, therefore, of annexing Mewar in order to divide Rajputana and weaken Mewar and ultimately to annex it, cannot be held to be a cause of the Rajput war. The suggestion that the aim could have been to drive a 'wedge of Muslim territory' into the heart of Rajputana is also not acceptable, not only in view of Aurangzeb's adherence to the Rajput policy of his ancestors, but also because of the fact that the Rajput territory was already surrounded on all sides by Imperial, or as Prof. Sarkar would have it, Muslim territory. The second point in Sarkar's analysis thus falls to the ground.

The third cause according to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, was that "the success of Aurangzeb's plan of forcible conversion of the Hindus required that Jaswant Singh's state should sink into a quiescent dependency or a regular province of the Empire. Hindu resistance to the policy of religious persecution must be deprived of a possible efficient head." Leaving aside for the present the discussion of the truth of the very debateable alleged "plan of forcible conversion of the Hindus" some signal discrepancies are to be observed in this analysis. Jaswant Singh's state was not, and had never been, even under the powerful Jaswant Singh, whom

Sarkar describes as 'the Leading Hindu Peer' of the Mughal Court, anything more than a quiescent dependency of the Empire, and it was highly improbable that it could have become anything more under a minor Rajah who had still to prove his mettle and his claim to the leadership of the Rajputs, the weakness of Regency Administrations being proverbial. The theory of annexation or of making the state into a regular province of the Empire has been disproved already and would be further disproved by the narration of facts later on. That Aurangzeb should have considered the minor son of Jaswant Singh a more powerful weapon of resistance to his alleged policy of religious persecution than the all-powerful Jaswant Singh himself, the 'Leading Hindu Peer' is, to say the least, very odd indeed. Why should he have left Jaswant Singh undisturbed in his possession when he was not only the acknowledged leader of the Hindu nobility, but had also, as has been suggested by Sarkar himself, inclinations towards assuming the role of the hero of "persecuted" Hinduism? Jaswant Singh had proved his hostility to the cause of the Emperor more than once. Yet he was entrusted with positions of trust and power, and given important commands on the outlying posts of the Empire, where he could, and as we are told did, do great harm to the Imperial cause. It would be strange to say that Aurangzeb was afraid of him; but stranger still is the suggestion that Aurangzeb should have been afraid of the untried and unproved minor son of the powerful Jaswant, and should have spied in him a "possible efficient head" to resist his policy and sought to remove him, while he gave the actual and potential head full rein. After the death of Jaswant Singh there were other powerful Rajput princes left in the field, who might reasonably be considered as more likely to assume the role of leadership of "persecuted" Hinduism, assuming for the present that there was such persecution, and that Aurangzeb should have chosen the infant offspring of Jaswant, rather than powerful Rajahs in the prime of manhood, as worthy objects of his attack is highly astonishing. The removing of the possible efficient head, therefore, could not be a motive, and must be left out of consideration.

Events tell a different tale. Maharajah Jaswant Singh died on 10th December, 1678 without any issues. The Mughal Sovereign was the overlord, and in theory the succession was not valid until formally recognised by him. In medieval times the death of a powerful prince, even in the event of the presence of rightful and powerful heirs, was generally the signal for disruption and lawlessness. There being no direct heirs in this case, and in face of the likelihood of the decision on the question of succession being delayed, there was grave danger of disturbances in the state. Aurangzeb, therefore, to discharge his Imperial responsibility, as also in the interest of the family of the ruling Rajput House, undertook to maintain law and order in the State pending a decision on succession, and with that end in view he sent there some of his experienced officers many of whom, be it noted, were Hindus. The fact that there was no opposition to this step from any quarter is remarkable, and was due, it

may reasonably be maintained, to the good faith of the Emperor which, it seems, was not questioned. On the 26th February, 1679, Aurangzeb was informed that two of the widows of Jaswant Singh had given birth to two posthumous sons at Lahore. Even in modern times bogus heirs and impostors are not unknown, and in the medieval period these were much too frequent. That the heirless Jaswant should suddenly have two posthumous sons was, therefore, rather an intriguing circumstance, and there was every reasonable ground for suspicion. Aurangzeb, therefore ordered the Ranis and the alleged sons to be brought to the Imperial Court so that their claim and legitimacy might be investigated and proved,—the only just and reasonable course in the circumstances. This was in February, but the Rajputs delayed bringing the Ranis to the Court till the end of June, although the question of succession being involved, and the throne of Marwar being without a ruler, all possible despatch and hurry could have been reasonably expected. This delay in a matter so vital and urgent, must have further heightened the suspicions which already existed as to the legitimacy of the two princes. After waiting for full three months for the princes, Aurangzeb decided that he could not allow the throne of Marwar to remain vacant any longer in the interest of the princes whose legitimacy was now more in doubt than ever before, and investigation into whose claims was likely to take still more time. He, therefore, in the interest of Marwar, and in the discharge of his Imperial responsibility, invested Inder Singh Rathor, a grand-nephew of Rajah Jaswant Singh, as the Rajah of Marwar on the 26th May, 1679. This gives the greatest lie to the suggestion that Aurangzeb wanted the annexation of Marwar. If this had been his intention, he could easily have assumed direct control of the State, and could have easily maintained it on the ground of the unproved legitimacy of the princes, an investigation which could have been prolonged indefinitely and which could have been decided against the princes. The question could also be put off till the coming of age of the princes, who could have been in the meanwhile put out of the way in one manner or the other. But we find that instead of adopting any of these courses, and pending investigation of the claims of the princes, he gave the state to a nephew of the Rajah, who, but for the appearance of the two posthumous sons, would have inherited the state in the ordinary course of the law of succession. This action of the Emperor proves, beyond a shadow of doubt, that he never entertained the motives which have been imputed to him, and which have been held responsible for the catastrophe of the Rajput war.

To resume the tale of events. The family of Rajah Jaswant Singh reached Delhi at the end of June, and the claims of the princes were again urged before the Emperor, who ordered that the two princes should be presented or brought to the Court, and promised that they " will be honoured with raj and mansab on attaining the age of discretion " (M.A.177) (and) " order was issued that the Diwans should appropriate perganahs

Sofat and Chenaran out of the Mahals of the Rajah for their maintenance .....as a more liberal grant—especially to the children, whose legitimacy as the sons of the Rajah had not been confirmed,—was not possible." (*Lubut-Tawarikh*). The Emperor thus acted with perfect justice. He invested the nephew of the Rajah, who was the legal heir of the apostate Jaswant Singh, as the ruler of Marwar. He promised to investigate the claim of the princes to be the sons of Jaswant Singh, pledging himself to raise them to Rajahship, if their case was proved, setting aside at the same time certain portions of the Marwar state for their maintenance. Nothing could be more fair or just, and only a biased mind can read anything sinister in these actions. Sir Jadunath Sarkar asserts that Aurangzeb " ordered that the child should be brought up in his harem...." (Vol. III, pp. 373-374). This is a surprising misreading of the statement in *Ma'āsir-e-'Ālamgirī* (176-177) that - حکم اقدس اعلی صادر شد که هر دو پسر را بدرگاه سپهر بارگاه بیارند which simply means that the two princes were ordered to be brought to Court. Only a biased mind, and an imagination run riot, can alone put that construction upon it as Sir Jadunath has done. As has been shown above the Emperor's attitude throughout was perfectly correct.

The self-styled guardian of the princes, Durgadas, however, thought otherwise. He, either knowing the legitimacy of Prince Ajit to be beyond doubt and impatient at the Emperor's cautious insistence on pre-verification before investiture, or having his own axe to grind, hoping to be the arbiter of the destinies of Marwar during the minority of Prince Ajit, and seeing himself baulked of his object, decided to defy the Emperor and to escape to Marwar and place Prince Ajit on the throne. The Emperor, getting wind of this, must have become even more suspicious of the legitimacy of Prince Ajit, whose supporters were not prepared to submit to a test of fair inquiry, but fought shy of investigation. He, therefore, in order to avoid the risk of interested persons running away with the princes and raising disturbances in their name ordered them and the Ranis to be lodged in the fortress of Nurgarh, instead of the camp, for greater safety; but Durgadas cutting down the Imperial guards, made good his escape. This was the first action of the Rajput war. It was thus Durgadas, rather than Emperor Aurangzeb, who only tried to be fair, who in his unwisdom haste, impetuosity and mistaken sense of loyalty, and maybe, lust for power, let loose the horrors of the Rajput war, which brought untold misery to millions of Rajputs, and destruction and poverty to their homelands, and did incalculable harm to the Imperial interests.

Aurangzeb's statecraft, we are told by Sarkar, " struck a shrewd blow to the counteraction of Durgadas; he brought up a milkman's infant in his harem as the true Ajit Singh." This is based on the statement in M.A. 177-78 that when the Emperor tried to thwart the plan of Durgadas, " the Rajputs leaving the infant (*i.e.*, Prince Ajit) behind at the house of a milk vendor, fled precipitately to their homes." In K. K., on the other hand, we read that " the Rajputs having secured the children of the same age as the sons of the Raja, dressed some of the female

servants as the Ranis..then putting the real Ranis in male attire, rushed out and rode straight for their homes." (K. K. II, 259). The same writer goes on to say that "After two or three hours, when contradictory news reached the Emperor he appointed trustworthy men to enquire into the matter..... Though the escape of the Ranis was not proved, yet some interested persons insisted on the escape of the sons. At last it was decided to arrest the sons of the Raja." (K. K. II, 260). It is apparent from these two accounts, that Durgadas also employed the ruse of impersonating Ajit by another boy of the same age, maybe a milkman's son. The princes had been in Delhi for a very short while, and no one in the Emperor's entourage could have been absolutely sure of Ajit's identity. In the face of "the contradictory news" the Emperor seems to have imagined for some time, in perfect good faith, that the boy left behind was Prince Ajit. But very soon the Emperor seems to have realised that the real Ajit had been taken away and at last "it was decided to arrest the sons of the Raja." It was therefore for a very short time, that the Emperor seems to have thought of the boy left behind as the real Ajit, but very soon he realised the mistake, and there is no evidence to prove that he ever tried to pit the milkman's boy against Ajit. He at once recognised him to be the real prince, which is amply proved by the later events, and right from the beginning of the war.

Thus the Rajputs, without provocation, forced the war upon the Emperor. That he executed it with vigour, cannot be a charge against him. It was his duty as the Emperor to fight with all his might against the forces of disruption in the Empire. It was a matter of execution rather than of policy, and to be slack would have been criminal folly. But as will be seen, he tried more than once, whenever an opportunity offered itself, to put an end to the war. Durgadas, however, spurned every offer and did not see reason till his policy had brought death and destruction to thousands of Rajput households.

At this stage, without rhyme or reason, the Rana of Mewar entered the war on the side of the Rathors. Prof. Sarkar has advanced two reasons for this action, (I) "that the annexation of Marwar was but the preliminary to an easy conquest of Mewar" and (II) that "Rai Singh could not, either as Kinsman or as a Knight" refuse to defend Ajit's rights. The first has already been shown to be baseless and second is disproved by the events that followed. It was not because of any of these high and noble motives, but because of pure love of mischief and of benefiting by the troubled state of affairs, that Rana Rai Singh entered the war and brought misery to thousands of his subjects.

The Emperor convinced, by the rallying of the Rathors, and support of Mewar, of the legitimacy of Prince Ajit at once took the just and conciliatory step of removing Indar Singh from the throne of Marwar. This friendly gesture received no response and probably took a most sinister meaning in the heated imagination of Durgadas. The war went on, for it seems, the aim was not so much to restore his inheritance to

Prince Ajit as to grasp unbridled power and to profit from the disturbed state of affairs.

A convincing proof of this statement is the fact that the Rana of Mewar, feeling the weight of Imperial power, submitted to the Emperor on the 14th June, 1681. The Rajah's submission was at once accepted, and no punishment was meted out. This demonstrates, once again, the Emperor's good faith and anxiety to continue the Rajput policy of his ancestors. If his aim had been to annex Mewar, why should he have given up this golden opportunity, when the Rajah was beaten and he had a just cause. The Emperor, one comes to the conclusion, had no such aims, nor the Rajah had the noble motives which Sarkar assigns to his actions. The inheritance of Prince Ajit was not yet restored to him, nor was the danger of Mewar being conquered after Marwar, and of Sisodias being crushed after Rathors, yet over. Where was then, the Rana's sense of duty and honour as a knight, and kinsman, and patriot ? It was pure love of mischief and evil ambition, for which the Rana entered the war, and submitted seeing that he had miscalculated. This lesson was, however, learnt at a terrible cost, for which the Rana was responsible, not the Emperor, who seized the first opportunity to conclude peace.

The war with Marwar went on. At last the Rathor leaders saw reason, and in 1698 Prince Ajit asked for the Emperor's pardon. The Emperor readily granted it and conferred mansabs and jagirs on Ajit, and a mansab of 3000 even on Durgadas, the arch rebel, who had given so much trouble to him, and was also appointed Faujdar of Patan in Gujerat. (M.A., 395). But they abused the trust placed in them, and rebelled again in 1701, and the Emperor had to take the field again. They submitted again in 1705 and were again pardoned and honoured. By their rebellion once again in 1706 they however, demonstrated that the Emperor's confidence was misplaced in them. The war was not over when the Emperor died in 1707. This narration of facts demonstrates, as nothing else can, the sincerity and good faith of the Emperor, and the evil ambition and love of mischief of Ajit Singh and Durgadas. His intentions were, in fact, of the best. If he had the intentions, which Sarkar suggests he had, what was there to prevent him from carrying them out ? Why should he have given up the plan of annexing Marwar and dividing Rajputana ? Why should he have forgotten its commercial importance ? Why should he have pardoned his opponents ? Why should he have allowed his implacable enemies to thrive ? In spite of the unprovoked conflict which they forced upon the Emperor, in spite of the incalculable harm that they had done to the Imperial cause, in spite of the heavy financial burden they imposed upon the Imperial treasury, in spite of the threat even to his crown that they held out, the Emperor was ever ready to forget and forgive. Whenever the opportunity for peace offered itself, he seized it, but his confidence and trust were abused.

It is therefore clear, beyond a shadow of doubt, that for the Rajput war and the incalculable misery it wrought, and the unimaginable harm

it did, Durgadas, Prince Ajit and Rana Rai Singh were to blame, not Aurangzeb. But Aurangzeb has been the victim of some of the greatest misrepresentations in History.

KHURSHEED MUSTAFA.

AN APPRECIATION OF SHAH WALIYULLAH AL-MUḤADDITH AD-DIHLAWĪ

HIS LIFE

SHĀH Walīyullāh al-Muḥaddith ad-Dihlawī traces his descent from 'Umar, the Great, the second of the (Rāshidūn) Caliphs. On his mother's side his lineage goes back to Imām Mūsā al-Kāzim (d. 799/183).[1]

Of his forefathers, Shaikh Shamsud-Dīn al-Muftī was the first to come to India.[2] He settled down at Ruhtak,[3] where he founded a *madrasah* and was later appointed Muftī of the town. After him his descendants held his post successively with credit until Maḥmūd, son of Qāḍi Qādhin, though a learned man, preferred a military career. Maḥmūd's successors did not, however, neglect education, their ancestral heritage, and achieved distinction in the domain of both brawn and brain.

Shaikh Maḥmūd had married into a Sayyid family of Ṣunipat[4] where he fixed up his residence and had a son born to him—Shaikh Aḥmad by name who was bred and brought up under the supervision of his grandfather (on the mother's side) Shaikh Abdul Ghanī b. Shaikh Abdul Ḥakīm al-Ṣunipati.

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1. Mawlana Isma'il Gudharwi: *Walīyullāh*, p. 30. In his *'Imdād fī Ma'athir al-Amjād* Shāh Ṣāḥib himself gives his lineage in the following words:

و سلسله نسب این فقیر بامیرالمومنین عمر بن الخطاب میرسد، باین طریق فقیر ولی الله بن الشیخ عبدالرحیم ابن الشهید وجیه الدین بن معظم بن منصور بن احمد بن محمود بن قوام الدین عرف قاضی قاذن بن قاضی قاسم بن قاضی کبیر الدین عرف قاضی بده بن عبدالملك بن قطب الدین بن کمال الدین بن شمس الدین مفتی بن شیر ملك بن محمد عطاء ملك بن ابو الفتح ملك بن محمد عمر حاکم ملك بن عادل ملك بن فاروق بن جرجیس بن احمد بن محمد شهریار بن عثمان بن هامان بن هامایون بن قریش بن سلیمان بن عفان بن عبدالله بن محمد بن عبدالله بن عمر بن الخطاب رضی الله عنه و عنهم اجمعین۔"

2. Mukhtar Aḥmad: *Ḥālāt-i-Khāndān-i-'Azīzī*, p.

3. This is a small township situated at a distance of 30 miles to the west of Delhi and was once a historical town of importance.

4. Abū Yaḥyā Nowshahrawi: *Tarājim-i-'Ulamā'-i-Ḥadith-i-Hind*, p. 7. But Shāh Ṣ. himself writes صون پت vide, *at-Tafhimāt al-Ilāhiyah*, Vol. II, p. 152.

As Shaikh Aḥmad grew up, he went back to Ruhtak, his ancestral homestead, where he lived on with his family until he died. Though reputed scholars themselves, his son, Shaikh Manṣūr, and his grandson, Shaikh Muḥammad Mu'azzam, preferred the career of sword to that of the pen.

Shaikh Wajīhud-Dīn, son of Shaikh Md. Mu'azzam and the grandfather of Shāh Walīyullāh, the hero of our brochure, besides being a learned man and a pious saint, was a soldier of great repute. In the war of succession fought between 'Ālamgīr and his brother Shujā', the Shaikh took the side of the former. In the most critical moment of the war when 'Ālamgir's forces were on the verge of a disastrous defeat, had no courage to face the wild elephants requisitioned by Shujā', and were retreating leaving behind only four soldiers in the field to fight the innumerable hordes of the enemy, it was Shaikh Wajīh who summoned courage and placed himself at the head of those valiant soldiers to attack and cut the trunk of the chief of the wild elephants. The furious animal rushed back in agony and caused great havoc in the almost victorious army of Shujā'. This now turned the tables, and the erstwhile retreating army of 'Ālamgīr came out victorious in the contest. As a mark of appreciation of the gallant services rendered by the Shaikh Muḥīyud-Dīn, 'Ālamgīr presented him with a sword and offered him a higher rank in his army, which latter the Shaikh unceremoniously refused to accept. Later on, the Shaikh was sent to fight against Sivaji, but on his way thither he was killed in a skirmish that took place between his party and a gang of robbers.[1]

Shaikh Wajīh's son, Shāh 'Abdur-Raḥīm,[2] the most renowned scholar of his time and one of the compilers of the celebrated *Fatāwa-i'Ālamgiriyah*,[3] written at the age of about sixty-one, had by his second wife a son born to him in Shawwāl 4, 1114/1702,[4] to whom the old father fondly gave the name of Walīyullāh (the friend of Allah). Shāh 'Abdur-

1. Abū Yaḥya: *Tārājim*, p. 8; Manzūr Aḥmad: *Al-Furqān* (Walīyullāh Number, the article of Mnāzir Aḥsan entitled: آغوش موج کا ایک دریا بندہ p. 189).

2. Shāh 'Abdur-Raḥim, son of Shaikh Wajīhud-Din was born in 1054/1644, and died in 1131/1719. He studied with his father and the eminent philosopher Mirza Muḥammad Zāhid Harawi. At the early age of eleven he undertook the study of Fiqh and Ḥadīth and enjoyed great reputation as scholar. He was survived by his sons, Shāh Walīyullāh, Shāh Ahlul-Lāh, and Shāh Ḥabībullāh, of whom Shāh Walīyullāh was the eldest.

3. This valuable and comprehensive work on Fiqh (jurisprudence) entitled *al-Fatāwā al-Hindīyah*, was compiled at the instance of 'Ālamgīr by a group of 'Ulamā' with Mullā Nizām at their head. Shāh Abdur-Raḥīm's name was, to begin with, included in the group by Mulla Nizām but was subsequently dropped by 'Ālamgīr himself. This incident is said to have happened as a result of the prayer of Shāh Ṣ.'s *murshid* (spiritual guide) Khalīfa Abu'l Qāsim, who disapproved of the idea that his beloved disciple should be weaned away from the service of his Lord.

4. Hidayet Ḥusain: *Al-Juzw al-Laṭīf*, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII, (1912) p. 171.

Raḥīm also named his son Quṭbud-Dīn, after the name of Khwajā Quṭbud-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kakī[1] for whom he bore very great reverence, and also as 'Azīmud-Dīn, which last indicated the year of his birth according to the well-known Abjad calculation. Prophetically enough, he fully justified the significance which all his three names carried with them inasmuch as he actually figured in history as Walīyullāh, the friend of God, Quṭbud-Dīn, the pole of the religion, and 'Azīmud-Dīn, the chief of the religion. Though in his writings he generally assumed the name of Aḥmad, his fourth name, he became popularly known as Walīyullāh.[2]

His student career

At the age of five, Shāh Walīyullāh began his Arabic alphabet, and at seven he completed the reading of the Qur'ān.[3] It was at this time that his circumcision ceremony took place, and he was initiated into the Islamic institutions of prayer and fasting.[4] Then he took to the reading of Persian literature and Arabic grammar.[5] By the fifteenth year of his life, he gave a finishing touch to the study of Logic, Philosophy, Astronomy, Mathematics, Fiqh, Uṣūl, Ḥadīth, Tafsīr, and Taṣawwuf, under the personal direction and supervision of his illustrious father.[6]

In the early age of fourteenth, his father had him married and initiated him into the mysteries of mysticism.[7] Within the short space of a year, the precocious boy obtained from his father the Khilāfat[8] in the Naqshbandīyah order.[9]

His role as a teacher

Thus, at the age of fifteen, he gained complete mastery over all the sciences esoteric and exoteric—a marvel of his age or for that matter of any other age.[10] Then he started his career as a teacher in the Madrasa-i-Raḥīmīyah in Delhi—an institution that was founded by and was named

1. A well-known Indian saint, Khalifa of Khwāja Mu'īnud-Dīn Chishti, died 633 A.H.
2. Abu Yahya: *Tarājim*, p. 10.
3. Journal of A. S. B., Vol. VII, p. 171.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 163-165.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
6. For the full course pursued by the Shāh Ṣ. see *Al-Juzu Al-Laṭif* (*supra*, p. note 4).
7. *Ibid.*, 171.
8. Khilāfat (خلافت): In mystic terminology it means the recognition by the Shaikh of the spiritual leadership of his disciple.
9. A well-known ascetic order of ṣufīs which was founded by Khwāja Bahā'ud-Dīn Naqshband. His real name was Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī. He was born in 718/1318, and died 791/1388.
10. *Supra*, p. note 4.

after his father, Shāh 'Abdur-Raḥīm. He had worked here for barely two years when in the year 1311/1719 at the age of only seventeen he succeeded to the chair of his father in the madrasah—an event that synchronised with the accession to the throne of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh (r. 1131/1719). Shāh Ṣ worked in this seat of learning for twelve long years until he left in 1143/1731 for Ḥijāz to perform his pilgrimage.[1]

His activities in Ḥijāz.

Though already a ripe scholar and an experienced teacher, Shāh Ṣ.'s thirst for knowledge could only be quenched when, during his sojourn in Ḥijāz, he sat at the feet of such distinguished traditionists as Shaikh Wafdullāh and Tājud-Dīn of Mecca, and Shaikh Abū Ṭāhir al-Kurdī al-Madanī (d. 1145/1733), from whom he obtained the *ijāzah* (permission) and *sanad* to teach and transmit Ḥadīth to others.

In Shaikh Abū Ṭāhir, our Shāh Ṣ. found a savant of rare scholarship, sterling character and uncompromising patriotism whose company could not, naturally enough, fail to evoke in him his long-cherished hope for the resurgence and resuscitation of the then decadent Muslim society of India. In the course of conversation, Shāh Ṣ. freely and fearlessly discussed with his Shaikh many burning problems of the day regarding the future of the *millat*. The learned Shaikh not only approved the viewpoints of his Indian pupil but was also very greatly impressed by his erudition. As a matter of fact, the Shaikh paid a very high compliment to his pupil's scholarship when he said : انه كان يسندعنى اللفظ و. كنت اصحح المعنى منه "Walīyullāh narrates the wordings on my authority whereas I correct the meaning through him."[2]

In the course of fourteen months[3] which he passed in Ḥijāz Shāh Ṣ. gained a thorough insight into the sciences of Ḥadīth and Jurisprudence (فقه), and felt himself called upon to declare himself as Mujaddid (Reformer) of his time.[4]

As a mark of the realisation of his role as a Mujaddid, Shāh Ṣ. often received, in dreams, clear hints and direct guidance from both the Holy

1. Muḥsin al-Taymi al-Tirhuti : *Al-Yāni' al-Jani'*, Bareilly, 1287 A.H.) p. 1 ; also Manzūr Aḥmad, *al-Furqān* p. 212.

2. Muḥsin al-Taymi : *Al-Yāni'al-Jani'*, p. 117.

3. The duration of his journey to Ḥijāz extended over two years (1143-1145). Shāh Ṣ. stayed at Ḥaramain (Mecca and Madina) for 14 months in the course of which he twice performed pilgrimage, and the rest of his days were spent on his way back to and from Ḥijāz, as Shāh 'Abdul Azīz has it in his *Malfuzāt*, p. 93.

4. The idea of Mujaddid hsa its origin from the Apostolic Tradition :

قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يبعث الله فى امتى بعد كل مائة رجلا يجد د لها دينها

" The Messenger of Allah said, God will, on the eve of every century, raise a person from my community who will revive my religion, " vide Shāh Ṣ.'s *At-Tafhimāt al-Ilāhiyah*, Vol. I, p. 40.

Prophet and the Divinity Himself—a privilege which emboldened him to assume the surname of 'Uwaisi.'[1]

He comes back to Delhi

On his return to Delhi in 1145 A.H., Shāh Ṣ. resumed his old duties of *Ṣadr* (Chancellor) in the madrasah. But his popularity as an educationist spread far and wide and students not in their tens but in their hundreds and thousands began to flock to his madrasah—a fact that necessitated the reconstruction and reshuffling of the madrasah-building itself. On his coming to know of this difficulty, the then Emperor, Muḥammad Shāh (r. 1719-1748) offered our Shāh Ṣ. a larger and more commodious building for the accommodation of his madrasah—an offer which was gladly and thankfully accepted.[2] Accordingly, the madrasah was shifted

1. 'Uwaisīyat' (اویسیت): In mystic terminology, it means getting direct spiritual guidance and insight from the Holy Prophet. The term comes from 'Uways, the famous saint. It is generally known and believed that 'Uways, though a contemporary of the Prophet, had not had the privilege of seeing him but, nevertheless, mysteriously enough received spiritual guidance from him.

Dr. Burhān Aḥmad Fārūqī, the author of *The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawḥid* has, as it appears from the footnote, p. 25, 1st and 2nd Edition, on the authority of Prof. F. Krenkow categorically denied and disowned the historical existence of the personality of 'Uways, a view with which we do not concur and which we hold to be too sweeping and unkind. Historical proofs which I am going to adduce here will amply bear out my statement. Both Ibn Sa'd (d.230 A.H.), the author of *Ṭabaqāt*, and Abū Nu'aym Isphahānī (430 A.H.), the author of *Ḥilya*, whose integrity as the authorities on *Asmā'-i-Rijāl* has never been challenged, are definite about and make no secret of the historical existence of 'Uways (*Ṭabaqāt*, Vol. VI, pp. 111 and 112, *Ḥilya*, Vol. II, p. 79). Imām Bukhārī (d. 256 A.H.) never questions the existence of 'Uways. All that he does is that he mentions him in his *Kitāb al-Ḍu'afā*.' Both Imām Muslim (d. 261 A.H.) and Imām Aḥmad (d. 241 A.H.) have not merely believed in the existence of the historical figure of 'Uways but have also narrated traditions about the excellences of 'Uways himself. Commenting on the person of 'Uways, 'Abdullāh b. 'Adi (d. 385 A.H.) speaks of him as 'بل هو ثقة صدوق' (he is trustworthy and truthful, vide *Lisan*, Vol. I, p. 471) and stoutly refutes the so-called statement of Imām Mālik to the effect that he doubts the existence of 'Uways. Imām Sam'āni (d. 562 A.H.), Imām Dhahabī (d. 748 A.H.), Imām Ibn Ḥajar (d. 858 A.H.) and other authorities on *Asmā'-i-Rijāl* are unanimous on this that 'Uways was a historical personage, nay, he actually lived at Kūfa and that 'Umar and 'Alī themselves met him at a place near 'Arafāt. This is not all. All the traditionists of note without exception hold that 'Uways b. 'Amir al-Qarani was اشرف التابعین, the noblest among the Followers of the Companions of the Prophet. The statement that Imām Mālik (d. 179 A.H.) doubted the personality of 'Uways, if it has any basis at all, cannot stand in face of the definite and categorical statements about the existence of the personality of 'Uways made by the undisputed authorities on *Asmā'-i-Rijāl* as referred to above, especially so, when we recall that Imām Mālik never set foot outside Ḥijāz. To our mind the reason which might have encouraged some person here and there to doubt the personality of 'Uways, may be explained away by the fact that the celebrated saint 'Uways was, by his nature, unassuming and unostentatious in character and was not, in the least, given to the limelight of publicity and advertisement—agencies that can always make the worse appear the better reason.

2. Mawlvi Bashīrud-Dīn: *Dārul Ḥukūmat*, Delhi, Vol. II, p. 173.

to the Imperial premises where the Shāh continued teaching and instructing his students and disciples for more than a decade, until he died on the 29th of Muḥarram, 1176/1763 during the reign of Shāh 'Ālam (r. 1759/1806).[1]

THE RETROSPECT

THE PERIOD OF CHAOS AND THE ASCENDANCY OF THE FOREIGNERS

Shāh Ṣ., as we have already seen, was born during the reign of 'Ālamgīr, and died when Shāh 'Ālam was reigning nominally on the throne of Delhi. Thus, he witnessed the rule of as many as ten Emperors over the throne of Delhi—'Ālamgīr (r. 1658-1707), Bahādur Shāh I (r. 1707-1712), Mu'izzud-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh (r. 1123-1712), Farrukh Siyar (r. 1713-1719), Rafi'ud-Darajāt (r. 1131-1719), Rafi'ud-Dawla (r. 1131 1719), Muḥammad Shāh (r. 1719-1748), Aḥmad Shāh (r. 1748-1754), 'Ālamgīr II (r. 1754-1759) and Shāh 'Ālam (r. 1759-1806). It is not a figment but a fact of history that during the reign of these Emperors, India had to pass through a period of internecine struggles and extreme unrest and chaos—rise of the Sayyids and the decline thereof as brought about by the Turāniyan Amirs, revolt of the Mahrattas and their bid for supremacy over India, revolt of the Sikhs, Nādir Shāh's invasion and the sack of Delhi by his soldiery, Aḥmad Shāh Durrāni's campaign and his decisive victory in the 3rd battle of Panipat (1761), supremacy of the Rohillas over the puppet rulers of Delhi, subsequent rivalry between the Irāniyan and the Turāniyan chiefs, advent of the Europeans on the soil of India, gaining of a foothold by the English over Bengal, and their subsequent intervention in the affairs of Bengal and Behar.

Shāh Ṣ. was an eye-witness of all these tumults and turmoils. As for the generally prevalent moribund condition of the Muslims of the world outside India, particularly of those under the Uthmānly Turks, his Ḥijāz journey provided him with the clue, as he himself writes : " Indian affairs are no secret to me, I was born and brought up there ; I am acquainted with the affairs of the Arab cities too as I have travelled extensively over them, and have also heard about the condition of the people of Rome (Asia Minor) from sources at once authentic and reliable."[2]

Thus, he obtained first-hand information as to how deterioration had set in in the political status of the Muḥammadans all the world over.

1. It will not be out of place here to say a word or two with a view to arriving at the correct age of Shāh Ṣ. As it is, we have two different versions about his age. On the authority of the one as given by the author of *Ḥayāt-i-Wali*, Shāh Ṣ. died in 1176/1763, at the age of 63 years. On the authority of another as given by no less a person than Shāh Ṣ.'s own son, Shāh 'Abdul 'Azīz, Shāh Ṣ.'s death occurred in 1176/1763, when he was 61 years and 4 months old. To me the latter view holds the field, as the numerals of Shāh Ṣ.'s historical name عظيم الدين when worked out corroborate my statement.

2. *Kalimāt Ṭaiyibāt*, p. 158 (margin), Mujtabā'i Press, 1891.

As a master-mind of his age, political disruption of the Muslims of India, his homeland, could not but unhinge him and set him to thinking how he could raise his co-religionists out of the slough of despondency and quagmire of degeneracy into which they had fallen.

Fanatic Muslims and prejudiced 'Ulamā'

To diagnose the malady that was eating into the very vitals of the body-politic of Islam in India and to find out a proper and appropriate remedy for it now became one consuming passion with Shāh Walīyullāh. He therefore began to analyse the causes that were responsible for and led to the downfall of the Delhi Sultanate or for the matter of that of the Muslims of India as a whole. It is a truism to say that all the major powers of the world today have risen to their present height and stature by giving the go-by to the religions they profess, whereas the Muslims rose to the pinnacle of their glory only by following and acting up to their religion of Islam itself. Hence, the present downfall of the Muslims all over the world, those of India not excepted, can therefore be accounted for only by their abuse and corruption of the religion which once they held so dear. The political downfall of the Muslims of India had therefore as its background nothing but religious corruption and prejudices.

Most of the contemporary Indian divines who had been at the helm of the affairs of the Sharī'ah neglected the study of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth and cared only for that of the *Fiqh* and *Ma'qūlāt*, the former for securing Government posts and the latter for holding verbal duals and hair-splitting controversies amongst themselves, and the result was soon obvious.[1] Departing from the lofty and vigorous teachings of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth which made the early Muslims what they were, our so-called divines of the time degenerated into mere commoners who always engaged themselves in mutual brawls and recriminations which had their natural repercussions on the masses themselves. For nowhere among the nations of the world, does religion wield such a tremendous influence over its votaries as it does among the Muslims. Naturally, therefore, the Muslim divines have, so to say, always the masses at their beck and call and claim to implicit obedience is never challenged by the latter. Such being the case, whenever leadership is abused or goes wrong, the followers themselves go astray. The demoralisation of the led, *i.e.*, the Muslim masses of India, therefore followed that of the leaders, the Muslim divines, as a matter of course. This was not all. On the other hand, most of the pīrs, spiritual guides, were exploiting the credulity of the ignorant and simple masses for their own worldly gain by making display of their so-called *karamāt* and hypnotic arts,[2] and that to the utter neglect of the

1. Shāh Ṣāḥib: *Inṣāf*, p. 86.

2. Shāh S.'s; *Al-Maqālat al-Waḍiyah fi al-Waṣīyat wa al-Naṣīḥah*.

laws of the Shari'ah as to what was lawful (حلال) and what was unlawful (حرام) —a state of things that could not but bring about the downfall of the Muslims of India. By observing the laws of their religion, the Muslims became the torch-bearers of the world, and by neglecting them they were now falling headlong into the abyss of degradation. If any reforms were now to be introduced into the decadent Muslim society, they had to come from within and not from without. It was at this critical and psychological moment that Shāh Walīyullāh appeared on the scene.

Shāh Ṣ. as a Reformer

The Ḥijāz-trip of our Shāh Ṣ. proved to be the stepping-stone to his successful campaign against the popular heresies and innovations that held sway over the 'Ulamā' in particular, owing to the latter's ignorance of the true import of the religious sciences—the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth. It was on his return to India that we find him a changed man altogether. Narrating about his father, Shāh Walīyullāh, Shāh 'Abdul 'Azīz says that on his father's return from Ḥijāz, he devoted himself exclusively to the teaching of Ma'ārif (esoteric sciences) and Ḥadīth amongst his disciples and votaries.[1] He further observed that whatever his father received in *kashf*, mystic experience, he committed it to writing.[2] It was then that he claimed to be the duly qualified *Mujaddid*, Reformer, and *Waṣī*, Trustee of his time,[3] and gave a new orientation to the Islamic sciences by making a critical survey of their subject-matter in the many books he in his life-time published on Tafsīr, Ḥadīth, Fiqh, Taṣawwuf and Islamic Philosophy, both in Arabic and Persian.[4]

Projects of Reforms

Having travelled widely and having studied the problems that confronted the fast decaying and degenerating Muslim society of the day, Shāh Ṣ. was able correctly to diagnose the diseases that were eating into the very vitals of the body-politic of Islam. As a remedial measure, he wanted, above all, to disabuse the minds of the Muslim intelligentsia of

1. Manẓūr Aḥmad: *Al-Furqān*, Walīyullāh Number, p. 221.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

3. In the opinion of Shāh Ṣ. the term 'mujaddid' means a religious genius who has a thorough insight of the knowledge of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, is fully acquainted with the nice distinctions existing as between what is unlawful (حرام), avoidable (مکروہ), recommended (مستحب), and permitted (مباح), and can purge the Sharī'ah of all the extremes of the religious laws, whereas the term *waṣi* means the one who has a complete mastery over all the religious sciences of Islam by having communion with the Prophet of Islam himself; vide *Tafhimāt*, Vol. I, p. 40.

4. A complete list of the books of Shāh Ṣ. is to be had from Abū Yaḥya's *Tarājim-i-'Ulamā-i-Ḥadīth-i-Hind*, p. 42.

their misunderstandings and misapprehensions about the value of the teachings of the Holy Qur'ān, the fountain-head of the Islamic Sharī'ah, whose verbal recitation by the generality of the Muslims had then become and to all appearances and purposes still remains a convention. He was fully convinced of this fact, that once the conception of the Muslims about the teachings of the Qur'ān was put on a sound rational basis, all other reforms, economic or otherwise would follow as the night follows the day. Accordingly, the first thing he did was to publish his *Fatḥur-Raḥmān*, a popular Persian translation of the Qur'ān intended to be at once comprehensive and intelligible to the average reader.* But the service he thus rendered to the cause of Muslim regeneration in India was not, unfortunately for the Muslims, acclaimed and appreciated by all sections of the community. As a result, a reactionary element among them went so far as to declare it as a *bid'a*, innovation, and raised such a tremendous uproar and agitation in the country against it that it made the life of Shāh Ṣ. well-nigh impossible. But Shāh Ṣ. was not the man to be daunted and cowed by the howlings of the obscurant and reactionary forces. As a first step towards the propagation and popularisation of the teachings of the Qur'ān amongst the Muslim public, he boldly incorporated his *Fatḥur-Raḥmān* into the curriculum of his madrasah, which was to serve as a model of all the institutions of its kind throughout the length and breadth of India.

The Qur'ān.

Shāh Ṣāḥib's work as a reformer did not merely end in his publication of the popular translation of the Qur'ān. To enlighten the Muslim intelligentsia on the rational and correct exposition of the Holy Qur'ān, he published in Persian *Al-Fawzu'l Kabīr*, a treatise on the principles of the sciences of exegesis, the first of its kind, perhaps the best also that has clearly and succinctly discussed and explained the *Mutashābihāt* (the equivocal verses), the *Muḥkamāt* (the sound verses), the *Nāsikh* (the abrogater), the *Mansūkh* (the abrogated), and other abstruse and intricate problems of the Qur'ān—a unique contribution of which Indian Muslims may justly be proud. He also published two other treatises on the Qur'ān, *viz.*, *Al-Fatḥu'l Kabīr* and *Tāwīl al-Aḥādith*, of which the latter discusses those verses of the Qur'ān that mark the progressive and gradual development of the teachings of the leading apostles before Muḥammad (صلى الله عليه وسلم) and gives a scientific and reasoned expositions of the stories narrated in the Holy Qur'ān—a field that till then remained untrodden and untraversed by his predecessors.

Ḥadīth (tradition or saying of the Holy Prophet), which constitutes the second greatest authority of Islamic Sharī'ah, was not neglected by the Shāh Ṣ. either. He realised in his heart

Ḥadīth.

*Since *Baḥr-i-Mawwāj* (the Surging Sea), the Persian Tafsīr of Malik al-'Ulamā, Shihābud-Dīn Dawlatabādī (d. 849 A.H.), the teacher of the Emperor Sher Shāh Sūrī, also gives us a complete translation of the Qur'ān, it is likely to be sometimes mistaken for the first Persian translation of the Qur'ān in India. But the fact is, it is more a Persian commentary than a mere translation. Shāh Ṣ.'s *Fatḥur-Raḥmān* therefore claims to be the first Persian translation of the Qur'ān in India.

of hearts that in order to raise his decadent community a critical and intelligent study of Ḥadīth was essential as a supplement to that of the Qur'ān. With a view, therefore, to fully equipping his co-religionists with the sinews of Islamic Sharī'ah he prepared his two commentaries, the former in Persian and the latter in Arabic on al-Mu'aṭṭā' of Imām Mālik (d. 179 A.H.), a most reliable and very early collection of Apostolic Traditions—a book that deals with *'Ibādāt* (modes of worshipping), *'Aḥkām* (Divine injunctions), *Mu'āmalāt* (dealings), *Ḥudūd* (punishments), and *'Aqā'id* (creeds) and other Islamic teachings.

To revitalise Islamic polity, he produced his rare and original Persian work on Ḥadīth called *'Izālat al-Khifā' 'an Khilāfat al-Khulafā'* which not only deals with the teachings relating to the questions of *Khilāfat* and *Imāmat* but also makes a critical survey and a comprehensive review of the first fifty years of the Muslim rule beginning from the days of the Prophet of Arabia down to those of his two immediate successors —Ḥaḍrat Abū Bakr and Ḥaḍrat 'Umar—a period that will always be reckoned as the most glorious in the history of Islam.

This was not all. In his monumental work *Ḥujjat al-Lāh al-Bāligḥah*, which may justly be regarded as an encyclopædia of Islamic sciences and which holds a unique position in the literature of the East and the West by reason of its diction, wealth of information and modernity in outlook, Shāh Ṣ. sifts authentic traditions from those that were unauthentic, chiefly for the guidance of the Muslim intelligentsia. Further, in his work Shāh Ṣ. makes four gradations of Ḥadīth works.[1] In the first he includes along with the Ṣaḥīḥain of Imāms Bukhāri and Muslim the Mu'aṭṭā ' of Imām Mālik. And in the second grade he puts the Musnad of Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and the rest of Ṣiḥaḥ Sitta. As for the remaining Ḥadīth-works, he classifies them under the third and fourth grades and says that they serve no useful purpose so far as the decisions of the Sharī'ah are concerned.

Shāh Ṣ. further maintains, against the consensus of 'Ulamā', that the most authentic work among those collections of Ḥadīth is the Mu'aṭṭā' of Imām Mālik and not the Ṣaḥīḥ of Bukhārī. And the reason why people preferred Bukhārī to Mu'aṭṭā' was, to his mind, that unlike Mu'aṭṭā' Bukhārī contains a fuller account of all the four sciences narrated by the Prophet, namely, Jurisprudence (فقه), history of the life of the Prophet (سير) and his battles (مغازی), commentary on the Qur'ān (تفسير), and prophecies regarding trials and tribulations that will happen prior to the day of resurrection (الفتن و علامات الساعة).

As to why Shāh Ṣ. himself gives preference to al-Mu'aṭṭā' over the Ṣaḥīḥ of Bukhārī, he adduces the following arguments :—[2]

1. All the traditions recorded in the Mu'aṭṭā' have come down to us from the Prophet to Imām Mālik through only one or two guarantors,

1. Shāh Ṣ. *Ḥujjat al-Lāh al-Bāligḥah*, p. 105-106, Vol. I.
2. Shāh Ṣ. *Al-Musawwa* on the margin of *al-Muṣaffā*, pp. 8-10 Farūqī Press.

and therefore their *sanad* can easily be scrutinised and their transmitters, most of whom are the learned inhabitants of Madina whose trustworthiness has never been questioned by the learned *Imāms* (traditionists), can be critically examined.

2. Both Imām Shāfi'ī and Imām Muḥammad have studied the Mu'aṭṭā' with its compiler Imām Mālik himself, and have made their own criticism on the work. True, they have differed from the compiler in his *istinbāṭ* (deductions) but have not even a word to utter against the *isnād* (the chain of the transmitters) of the book.

3. All the other collections which were made after al-Mu'aṭṭā', such as the works of Imāms Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwood, Nasa'i, and Tirmidhī, are but so many appendices and commentaries of al-Mu'aṭṭā' itself, inasmuch as these works supply other correct *isnāds* for the traditions stated in al-Mu'aṭṭā', be they *Marfū'*, *Mursal* or *Mawqūf*.[1]

Thus Shāh Ṣ. proves that the traditions recorded in al-Mu'aṭṭā' are fully secure and free from any blemishes that may be attributable to narrations of other collections. He therefore observes :—

"You should know for certain that the door for *Ijtihād* (*i.e.*, to derive religious laws out of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth) has been practically closed today excepting that you should keep the Mu'aṭṭā' before you."[2]

Fiqh.

As for his reforms towards Fiqh, Islāmic Jurisprudence, suffice it to say that Shāh Ṣ. denounced in the strongest term possible the 'Taqlīd Jāmid,' blind following of any of the Madhāhib-i-Arba'ah, the four schools of Islamic Jurisprudence. He did not oppose Taqlīd as such but what he did oppose was that his co-religionists should follow one of the four schools of Islamic Sharī'aḥ without rhyme or reason.[3] Two books of his, *viz.*, *Inṣāf fī Sababi'l Ikhtilāf* and *'Iqdu'l jid fī'l Ijtihād wa't-Taqlīd*, are devoted to the propounding and propagation of this view. Though he was a Ḥanafī by persuasion, he considered it his religion to be tolerant to the followers of other Juridical schools.[4] If anything, he stood for a compromise among all the four schools as far as it was feasible and practicable without much sacrifice of one's allegiance to any particular school of thought. For, following one particular Juridical school with rigidity and inflexibility would give rise to *'Aṣabīyah* or uncompromising orthodoxy, while on the other hand the pursuit of all the Juridical schools without any principle and as opportunity offers itself would mean a veritable chaos— both the alternatives were bound to be prejudicial to the

1. A Ḥadīth is Marfū' if its ṣanad goes back to the Prophet, Mursal if the sanad ends with the name of a Companion (صحابی), and Mawqūf if it refers to a Tābi'i (Follower) only.

2. Shāh Ṣ. : *Muṣaffā*, p. 12.

3. Shāh Ṣ. : *Fuyūḍ al-Ḥaramain*, pp. 64, 65, also *Ham'āt* (written in 1148 A.H.), p. 7. Islami Press, Tuḥfa-i-Muḥammadiyah.

4. Shāh Ṣ., *Tafhimāt*, Vol. II., pp. 202 and 242.

interest and solidarity of Islām and the Muslim nation as a whole. He commended the study of al-Mu'aṭṭā' and opined that it could serve as a basis of compromise among the followers of all the Juridical schools, if its teachings could be followed and acted upon. Of all the Madhāhib-i-Arba'ah, he preferred the Ḥanafīte school inasmuch as the views of its Imāms either agreed to the one or to the other school of thought, that is to say the Ḥanafite school has made the greatest possible rapprochement to the other schools of Islamic thought.[1]

Islamic Philosophy and Taṣawwuf.

Islamic Philosophy and Taṣawwuf (Mysticism) too did not escape the notice of our Shāh Ṣ., inasmuch as he made a very valuable contribution to these sciences also.

He has devoted his *'Alṭāf al-Quds* towards the elucidation of *Laṭā'if* of the mystics, namely, body, mind, and will in other words تدبیر بدن (the function of the liver), عقل (the function of the cerebrum), and ارادہ (human perception) and the various stages of its development.

As for his *Al-Saṭ'āt*, in this book Shāh Ṣ. discusses the various processes of Divine Illumination (تجلی الہی) and how to get communion with God.

So far as his *Ham'āt* is concerned Shāh Ṣ. has consecrated it to the discussion of the history of Islamic Taṣawwuf and the reasoned exposition thereof.

Through *Al-Budūr al-Bāzighah*, *al-Khayr al-Kathīr* and *al-Ḥujjat-al-Lāh al-Bālighah*, etc., Shāh Ṣ. has struck a new note about Islamic Philosophy. He, like Imām Ghazzālī, finds in Taṣawwuf a culminating point of the theory of knowledge and a full play of the quality of *'iḥsān'* as adumbrated by the Prophet himself in the following extracts :—

(1) "[2] ". . واخبرنی عن الاحسان ،قال :ان تعبد الله كانك تراه ، فان لم تكن تراه فانه يراك . .

"And tell me of *iḥsān*; said the angel to the Holy Prophet. He replied, " to worship God as though you see Him. If you do not see Him verily He is seeing you."

Besides his rare and unsurpassable contributions in Persian and Arabic towards the uplift and betterment of his co-religionists in India Shāh S. left behind him a number of trained disciples who zealously and faithfully carried on the legacy of their master so as to arrogate to themselves the proud epithet of *ḤIZB-I-WALĪYULLĀHĪ*, amongst whom figured such distinguished savants as Muḥammad 'Āshiq and Khwāja Muḥammad Amīn. As a matter of fact, on the death of Shāh Ṣ., his noble band of disciples devoted themselves to the work of regeneration of their fellow Muslims as keenly and sincerely as they did during the life-time of their late-lamented Shaikh. It redounds to the credit of our Shāh Ṣ. that it was his teaching that was responsible for the religious war declared against the Sikhs by the then Muslim society of India under the leadership of the late Shāh Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd Barelwi

1. *Fuyūḍ*, p. 103.
2. *Ṣaḥiḥ Bukhāri*, Vol. I, p. 12, Egypt.

(1201-1246 A.H.) of happy memory—an event that was known under the name of the Wahhabiyah Movement in India.

Conclusion

To conclude, Shāh Walīyullāh was the first Indian Muslim to feel for the moribund and decadent Indian Muslim society that came into being in the wake of Aurangzeb's death. With a view to reclaiming the members of his benighted community, Shāh Ṣ. introduced among his co-religionists many reforms of far-reaching effect and that in the teeth of strong and fierce opposition from the reactionary elements of his own society. To the very great credit of Shāh Ṣ. be it said, that his untiring zeal and indefatigable labour in this direction bore abundant fruit and successfully stifled the voice of the opposition. And we shall not be far from the truth if we say that it was the personality of Shāh Ṣ. that brought Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī down to the plain of Delhi to inflict a crushing defeat on the Mahrattas in the 3rd battle of Panipat (1761 A.D.).[1]

His Persian translation brought the Holy Qur'ān within easy reach of the Muslim masses of India, and led the way to its translation into different provincial vernaculars. The science of Tradition which had so long remained a Cinderella among the Fuqaha-ridden Islamic society of the time, became popular through him. As a matter of fact, today there is hardly any traditionist in India whose *isnād* (the chain of transmitters) does not go back to Shāh Ṣ. India's very great services to Ḥadīth in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, of which a lion's share goes to our revered Shāh Ṣ. have been admitted by no less renowned scholars than the late 'Allāma Rashīd Riḍā and his like.[2] This is not all. It was again his writings that broadened the outlook of the Indian Muslims in general and the 'Ulamā' in particular, which latter had, till then, been so very fanatic and bigoted. Furthermore, it was his sermons and writings that not only purged the Indian Muslims of all their superstitious beliefs and rituals but also revolutionised the Islamic Taṣawwuf, placing it, as they did, on a more scientific and rational basis.

Shāh Walīyullāh's varied and manifold services to the cause of the uplift of the fast-degenerating Indian Muslims has rightly earned for him the title of " IMAM," as the late 'Allāma Obaydullāh Sindi has put it in language at once unambiguous and unequivocal.

M. S. Hasanal-Ma'ṣūmī.

1. Obaydullāh Sindi : *Shāh Walīyullāh awr unki siyāsi Taḥrīk*, p. 57. See explanatory notes by M. Nurul Ḥaq 'Alawi therein, pp. 57, 171, 179.

2. Muḥammad Fuwād Abdul Bāqi : *Miftāhu'l Kunuz al-Sunnah*, p. ق .

THE NATURE OF THE SUMMUM BONUM IN ISLAM

UNLIKE vegetable kingdom or animal world where the function of life ends merely in growth, decay and the propagation of the species, the life of an individual human being, or for the matter of that, of the human race, as a whole, has a greater destiny to fulfil. Man eats to live but does not live only to eat. At any rate, he does not live by bread alone. For, if he were to live merely for the sake of living, he would be no different from either a plant or an animal. Accordingly, he must needs have the summum bonum, the highest good of his life to achieve or the very purpose of his creation is bound to be defeated and frustrated.

Ever since the dawn of history, the problem of the summum bonum has engaged the attention of the thinkers of all ages. To give even a brief résumé of all the different theories that have been advanced from time to time on the subject falls outside the purview of my paper, excepting, of course, the one put forward by the theologians of Islam. All the Muslim scholastic philosophers, both the Mu'tazilites and the orthodox alike, have held that the Beatific Vision, رؤية الباری is the summum bonum of life under the Islamic dispensation—a conclusion to which the Holy Qur'ān undoubtedly refers when it says للذين احسنوا الحسنى وزيادة "For those who do good is the best (reward) and more (thereto)"[1] (26: X) inasmuch as the commentators without exception have identified the best reward for the believers in paradise with the Beatific Vision.[2] But though all the scholastic philosophers of Islam are unanimous on this that the Beatific Vision, رؤية الباری is the summum bonum of the life of a true believer, they have differed widely as to the nature of that Beatific Vision, *i.e.*, summum bonum.

The Mu'tazilites are unanimous[3] on this, that God will not be seen with the physical eyes either in this world or in the next[4] as in their opinion He is above time and space and not a corporeal being.[5] With

1. Al-Ash'ari, *al-Ibāna*, p. 15.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Al-Ash'ari, *Maqālāt*, Vol. I, pp. 157 and 216.
4. Al-Ash'ari, *al-Ibāna*, p. 18.
5. Al-Ash'ari, *Maqālāt*, I, p. 155.

regard to the spiritual vision of God, Abu'l Hudhail (+235/849) and the majority of the Mu'tazilites[1] hold, "We shall see God with our minds' eye, *i.e.*, we shall know Him through our hearts." Hishām al-Fauṭī and his pupil[2] 'Abbād b. Sulaimān have on the other hand, denied even that much,[3] *i.e.*, in their opinion, men, finite that they are, cannot have the vision of God Who is Infinite, even spiritually. They have, therefore, maintained that what human beings can know is merely His name[4] and nothing more as He is too high even to be conceived. The latter were pure nominalists. Perhaps they were the forerunners of the nominalist philosophers of the later days.

The Mu'tazilites have advanced the following proofs in support of their contention, namely, that the Ultimate Reality can only be known through our hearts and not be seen with corporeal eyes.

1. Proofs from the Qur'ān :—

(*a*) لاتدركه الابصار و هو يدرك الابصار "Vision comprehendeth Him not, but He comprehendeth (all) vision."[5] (103 : VI).

They have advocated that the clause هو يدرك الابصار is of general[6] application so as to mean that God sees the eyes both in this world and in the next ; and that when this has been connected with the clause لاتدركه الابصار of the same verse through the conjunction واو the latter must also be of general application so as to mean that eyes will neither see Him in this world nor in the next. For, of the two connected clauses, if one is known to be of general application, the other also must be so.

(*b*) لن ترانى "Thou wilt not see Me"[7] (143 : VII), said God, with emphatic negation in reply to Moses' supplication namely رب ارنى انظر اليك 'My Lord ! Show me (Thyself), that I may gaze upon Thee."[8] (143 : VII).

(*c*) فقد سألوا موسى اكبر من ذالك فقالوا ارنا الله جهرة فاخذتهم الصاعقة بظلمهم "They asked a greater thing of Moses aforetime, for they said : 'Show us Allah plainly.' The storm of lightning seized them for their wickedness."[9] (153 : IV). "Had they (the people of Moses)," asserted az-Zamakhsharī (497/1103-538/1143), "asked for a possible thing from him, they would not have been called 'wrong-doers' and would not have consequently been overtaken by the storm of lightning, just as Abraham was neither called a transgressor nor was he striken with storm, when he asked of his Lord to show him the quickening of the dead" as the Qur'ān has it

1. Al-Ash'ari, *Maqālāt*, Vol. I, pp. 157 and 216.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 495.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 157 and 216.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 165 and 166.
5. Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 18.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Az-Zamakhshari, *al-Kashshāf*, (Egypt), I, p. 346.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 234 and 235.

و اذقال ابراهيم رب ارنى كيف تحى الموتى And "when Abraham said (unto his Lord): my Lord! Show me how Thou givest life to the dead" (ii : 260).

2. Proofs from optical science.

"In order that one may see something," averred the Mu'tazilites, "the following conditions must be fulfilled[1] by the seer as well as the seen, as the case may be."

(*a*) One must possess the soundness of the sense of sight. It is for this reason that the degree of vision varies in proportion to the soundness or otherwise of the sense of sight.

(*b*) The object of vision must be visible and present to the eye (the sense of sight), which must not be indifferent to it, nor must it be under the influence of sleep or anything akin thereto.

(*c*) The object of vision must be in front of, or opposite to the eye just as a thing to be reflected in a mirror must needs be opposite to it.

(*d*) It must not be too small to be seen.

(*e*) It must not be too fine to be looked at, *i.e.*, it must be a coloured object and be sufficiently coarse.

(*f*) It must not be too distant from the eye and the visible distance is to be judged in accordance with the power of the seer's sense of sight.

(*g*) It must not be too near to the eye either. For, when the object to be seen touches the surface of the eye, the eye loses the power of vision altogether.

(*h*) There must not be anything opaque interposing between the eye and the object of its vision.

In the opinion of the Mu'tazilites, since God as an object of vision, does not satisfy the relevant conditions laid down above, He cannot be seen with bodily eyes.

Once the Mu'tazilites had denied the corporeal vision of God, they had to explain away all such verses of the Qur'ān as went against their contention. The following verse may be cited as an illustration: وجوه يومئذ ناضرة الى ربها ناظرة "That day will faces be resplendent, looking toward their Lord"[2] (22 and 23 : LXXV).

In their opinion الناظرة الى as occurs in the above verse means التوقع (hoping) الرجاء (expecting) and الى ربها stands for الى ثواب ربها.

They have adduced the following lexicographical proofs[3] in support of their meaning.

(*i*) The people (Arabs) say: انا الى فلان ناظر مايصنع بى (I am expecting from such a one what good he will do for me)."

(*ii*) واذا نظرت اليك من ملك و البحر دونك زدتنى نعما[4] "As I expect from you,

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1. (*a*) As-Sayyid ash-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, *Sharḥu Mawāqif*, VIII, pp. 135 and 136.
(*b*) The conditions in question have been attributed to the opponents who can safely be identified with the Mu'tazilites.
2. Az-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshaf*, (Egypt), II, p. 509.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Muḥibb al-Dīn Afandī, *Tanzilu'l Āyāt*, p. 138.

the King (a gift) while the ocean is below you (in point of generosity) you increase your favours towards me."

(*iii*) وسمعت سروية مستجدية بمكة وقت الظهر حين يغلق الناس ابوابهم و يأوون الى مقائلهم تقول عينيتى نو يظرة الى الله و اليكم

"And I heard a Sarwite female beggar at Mekka saying once at noon when people shut their doors and take shelter in their midday resting-places 'my humble eye is expecting (something) from Allah as well as from you.'"

The people of the Sunnah have, on the other hand, held that God will be seen in the next world with physical eyes[1] in the same way as the full moon is seen.

Al-Ash'arī as their spokesman has advanced the following proofs in support of the proposition :

I. Proofs from the Qur'ān :

(*a*) رب ارنى انظر اليك "My Lord! Show me (Thyself) that I may gaze upon Thee."[2] (143 : VII).

He has contended that had the vision of God been impossible of realisation, Moses would not have asked for it.

(*b*) فان استقر مكانه فسوف ترانى "If it stand still in its place, then thou wilt see Me."[3] (143 : VII).

Al-Ash'arī has held that since the vision of God has been attached to a condition, namely, the standing still of the mountain admitting of realisation, it shows that the vision itself is realisable.

II. Proofs from the tradition :—

ترون ربكم كما ترون القمر ليلة البدر لا تضارون فى رويته "You will see your Lord as you see the full moon whilst you will not be harming one another in regard to His vision."[4]

III. Proofs from the consensus of opinion, Ijmā', of the Companions of the Prophet :—

ان الله تراه العيون فى الاخرة "Verily the eyes will see Allah in the next life."[5]

IV. Logical proofs :—[6]

(*a*) God can show us everything that exists.
He exists.
Therefore He can show Himself to us.

(*b*) He who sees things sees himself.
God sees things.
Therefore He sees Himself.

1. Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 10.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
4. (*a*) Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 16. (*b*) Al-Tirmidhī with the commentary of al-Imām Abū Bakr b. al-Arabi al-Mālikī, Vol. X, p. 18. (*c*) Abū Dawūd on the margin of *al-Mu'aṭṭa* of the Imām Mālik with the commentary of az-Zarqānī, p. 182. (*d*) Shaikh Waliuddīn, *Mishkāt*, p. 500 with a slight variation in the *matan*, reading.
5. Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 17.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 17 and 18.

(*c*) He who sees himself can make himself seen.
God sees Himself.
Therefore He can make Himself seen.

(*d*) The highest good is realisable in the highest world.
Beatific Vision is the highest good.
Therefore Beatific Vision is realisable in the highest world.

V. Philosophical proofs :—[1]

Those who deny the Beatific Vision of God reduce Him to a non-entity a mere abstraction (stripping God of His reality).

Refutation by the Mu'tazilites of the orthodox arguments :—

(1) Refutation of the Quranic proof :—

(*a*) رب ارنی انظر الیك "My Lord! Show me (Thyself) that I may gaze upon Thee."[2] (143 : VII).

Az-Zamakhsharī maintains that Moses said this in spite of his conviction and statement to the people that the vision (corporeal) of God was an impossibility to him, only to elicit some Divine revelation to this effect, for the satisfaction of his own people who were persistent in their demand on him to show God in person, and not because of the fact that he knew that the Divine vision was a possibility, as the people of the Sunnah have asserted.

(*b*) فان استقر مكانه فسوف ترانی "If it stand still in its place then thou wilt see Me."[3] (143 : VII).

Az-Zamakhsharī has argued that the vision of God is an impossibility inasmuch as it has been made conditional upon the standing still of the mountain in question. As it was later razed to the ground and could not remain firm as a result of the revelation of the Divine Glory, in the opinion of the Mu'tazilites the orthodox assertion in favour of the possibility of the vision of God fails.

II. Refutation of the proof from the tradition :—

ترون ربكم كما ترون القمر ليلة البدر لا تضارون فی رؤیته "You will see your Lord as you see the full moon whilst you will not be harming one another in regard to His Vision."[4]

The Mu'tazilites have held that the tradition in question is of the category of Aḥād[5] and as such is not acceptable[6] when in conflict with such an explicit verse of the Qur'ān as لاتدركه الابصار و هو يدرك الابصار

1. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
2. Az-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshaf*, (Egypt), I. 346.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 347.
4. I. c.
5. (*a*) Imām ul-Ḥaramain, *Irshād*, p. 225. (*b*) Aḥād (A.), pl. of Aḥad, meaning units in arithmetic. In the science of tradition it is used as an abridged plural of Khabar al-Wāḥid, which as contrasted with Mutawātir Ḥadīth communications, comes not from a larger number of trustworthy Companions (aṣḥāb) but from a single person (extract), E. I., Vol. I, 182.
6. Aḥmad Amīn, *Duḥa'l Islam*, III, pp. 27 and 28. N.B. This is my secondary source. Professor Aḥmad Amīn has not mentioned the original authority from which he has quoted his statement.

" Vision comprehendeth Him not, but He comprehendeth (all) vision," (103 : VI).

Counter-refutation by al-Ash'arī of the Mu'tazilite arguments through the Quranic verses.

(1) وجوه يومئذ ناضرة الى ربها ناظرة " That day will faces be resplendent looking toward their Lord."[1] (22 and 23 : LXXV).

Al-Ash'arī has maintained[2] that here in the above verse the word ناظرة is not amenable to the following meanings :—

(*a*) " Considering " as the next world is the place of realisation and not of consideration.

(*b*) " Hoping for," adopted by the Mu'tazilites,—as it is attended with troubles and disgust, whereas there is for the dewellers in paradise what no eye has ever seen nor ear has ever heard from among the accessories and amenities of life, and that on their mere wishing for the same.[3]

(*c*) " Feeling sympathy for " is also absurd, as it ill-becomes the creatures to feel sympathy for their Creator. In the opinion of al-Ash'arī, the expression must, therefore, mean " Seeing with the eyes." And this is strengthened by the association of وجه " Face," and by the preposition الى which implies the direction of sight.

(*d*) " Again الى ربها in the above verse " contended al-Ash'arī,[4] " cannot figuratively be interpreted as الى ثواب ربها as the Mu'tazilites have done, on the ground that the Quranic verses must be understood literally unless a good reason can be shown to the contrary."

II. لا تدركه الابصار و هو يدرك الابصار " Vision comprehendeth Him not but He comprehendeth (all) vision."[5] (103 : VI).

The Mu'tazilites have argued that as the second clause in the above verse is general, *i.e.*, applies to God both in this world and the future, the first also must be general and apply to this world as well as the future. Al-Ash'arī has contended[6] that Mu'tazilite argument of generalisation falls to the ground when الابصار is generalised to mean " eyes of heart " as well as " eyes of head," inasmuch as the verse will then deny that the believers can comprehend God even spiritually—a predicament which is nonsensical.

Be that as it may in the light of the Mu'tazilite argument put forward on the problem at issue, al-Ash'arī had to move away from his original stand-point as we have it on the authority of the Imāmu'l-Ḥaramain who says that the Imām al-Ash'arī has maintained[7] that God will be seen neither in space and time nor with modality as He sees us, while He is not in space and time nor is He with any modality.

1. Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 13.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 18 and 19.
7. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyyin*, pp. 149 and 150.

Now the question arises as to how to reconcile the view of al-Ash'arī as adumbrated in his *Ibāna* that God will be seen with physical eyes unconditionally in the next world with that as given above by Imāmu'l-Ḥaramain ? To our mind *al-Ibāna* is one of the earliest works of al-Ash'arī which must have been written immediately after his conversion to orthodoxy : and as such the point of view, he enunciated therein, was, and had to be popular and for the matter of that an anthropomorphic one, and not the one which he himself, as one of the greatest scholastic philosophers of Islam, held.

It stands to reason, therefore, that the view as set forth by Imāmu'l Ḥaramain and accepted by the later Ash'arites like Ghazzālī[1] (d. 505/1111) and the Imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī[2] (d. 606/1209) is the view bona fide of al-Ash'arī, which he, as it can safely be presumed, could not have but communicated particularly to his intellectually gifted pupils.

Further, the Imām Najmuddin Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142), a mouthpiece of the Mātūridite[4] section of the Muslim scholastic philosophers, holds: " That the believers have a vision of God Most High in paradise and that He is seen, not in a place nor in a direction or by facing or the joining of glances or the placing of a distance between him who sees and God Most High."

The arguments of the orthodox schools, summarised above, make it clear that the orthodox have virtually accepted the Mu'tazilite viewpoint on the subject, namely that God can be seen only spiritually and not with the bodily eyes.

ABDUS SUBHĀN.

1. Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā*, I, p. 79.

2. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātih al-Ghaib*, IV, p. 285 read with VI, p. 5.

3. Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥanafī al-Mutakallim al-Mātūridī al-Ṣamarkandī is the titular head of the Mātūridite school of Theology which, with the Ash'arite school, forms orthodox Sunnite Islam. He died at Samarkand in 333/944. (Extract), E. I. Vol. III, pp. 414 and 415.

4. (*a*) *'Aqāid al-Nasafi* (Fakhr al-Matābi') Lucknow, p. 10. (*b*) Macdonald, Muslim Theology, Appendix I, p. 310.

A VISIT TO THE RAMPUR STATE LIBRARY

I UNDERTOOK to edit Ni'matullāh's *Tārikh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghānī*, an important general history of the Afghans in India, and annotate it at the suggestion of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, K.C.I.E., and my Supervisor Prof. Muhammad Zubair Ṣiddiqī, M.A., B.L., (Ph.D. *Cantab.*). In connection with this work, I made a thorough study of several catalogues of the Persian MSS., in different libraries of the world. I learnt that there was also an abridged version of it, known as the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī*, an English Translation of which was published by Dr. Dorn under the title 'History of the Afghans, from the Persian of Neametullah." I consulted the three MSS. of the *Tārikh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī*, preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, and the English translation of the *Makhzan* by Dr. Dorn. I copied one of the Society's MSS. and collated it with the other two MSS. of it, which are in the Society. But I had no MS. of the *Makhzan* at my disposal. I, therefore, decided to visit some important libraries[1] of India, where I could procure a MS. of the *Makhzan*.

On enquiry I received information from Mr. Imteyāz 'Alī 'Arshī, the talented and scholarly librarian of the Rampur State Library that it had two MSS. of each of the two books.[2] One of the two copies of the *Tārikh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī* was dated 1038 A.H. A collation of this manuscript, it being the earliest of all the known MSS. of the *Tārikh*, with my own was very essential for its critical edition. With this end in view and in the hope that I might have the opportunity to avail myself of several other

1. I visited Oriental Public Library, Bankipur, Aligarh Muslim University Library, Habibganj Library (Dist. Aligarh), Allahabad University Library, Socrates Library, Mahmudabad, etc., along with Rampur State Library.

2. The two books with the description of their MSS. will be critically examined in the next article entitled "The Tārikh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī."

important and rare MSS. in the State Library, I visited it[1] in March and stayed there for about two months.

The library owes its origin to Nawwāb Fayḍ-Allāh Khān (A.H. 1189-1208=A.D. 1775-1793), son of Nawwāb 'Alī Muḥammad Khān. He was the founder of the dynasty and of the city of Rampur[2] and was a great patron of learning. There were many learned men at his court.[3] By his order the "*Fatāwā-i-Fayḍ-Allāh Khānī*" was composed in three volumes by the scholars of his court on the lines of the *Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgīrī*. A manuscript of this *Fatāwā* is preserved in the library.

The successive rulers, Nawwab Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahadur, Ḥaji Ghulām Muḥammad Bahadur and Aḥmad 'Alī Khān Bahadur, also patronised learned men[4] and took great interest in the development of the library. Two historical works, one in Persian by Rif'at and another in Urdu by Mu'azzam 'Abbāsi, were dedicated to Nawwāb Ḥaji Ghulām Muḥammad Bahadur.

The next ruler Nawwāb Muḥammad Sa'īd Khan Bahadur (A.H. 1256-1271=A.D. 1840-1854) was a great patron of learning and appointed many scribes and decorators from Kashmir and Lucknow for copying and embellishing MSS. He purchased many books and MSS. for the library. At first the library was only a part of Tushakhāna; but during his time it was placed under a separate management and was thrown open to the public.

His successor Nawwāb Sayyid Yusuf 'Alī Khān (1271-1281 A.H.= 1854-1864 A.D.) was a distinguished scholar and poet and added to the collection of MSS. and staff. He employed scribes to copy unique and

1. I acknowledge my deep debt of gratitude to the President, Shama Prashad Mukerjee and my Supervisor Prof. Muḥammad Zubair Ṣiddiqi, the Head of the Department of Islamic History and Culture Calcutta University, for having given me permission to visit the Rampur State Library. I express my indebtedness to the Prime Minister of the Rampur State, Mr. Bashir Ḥusain and the Educational Adviser to the Rampur State, Mr. Ghulam-al-Sayyidain, the former Principal of the Training College, Aligarh who permitted me to inspect the Library. I am also thankful to Mr. 'Arshi, the Librarian and Mr. Mas'ūd Shāh Khān, the Accountant and many others, who rendered me all assistance and gave me every facility that was essential for my work.

2. For the history of Rampur see *Imperial Gaz. of India*, vol. XXI, pp. 182-190.

3. The following learned men flocked to the Court of Nawwab Fayḍ-Allāh Khān:—

(*a*) Maulvi 'Abdul 'Alī, called Baḥr-al-'Ulūm, Lucknow (d. 1225 A.H.=1810 A.D.)—see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, p. 584; the *Risāla-i-Quṭbiya*, composed by his son 'Abdul 'Ala and al-Nadva in 1910 A.D. No. 12, p. 7. and the *Ḥadāiq-al-Ḥanafiyā*, p. 467.

(*b*) Qudrat-Allāh Ṣiddiqī, an inhabitant of Mavi, near Kahar, a town in Rohilkhand, the author of the *Jām-i-Jahān Numā* and the *Takmilat-al-Shu'arā'* and

(*c*) Ḥakim Bābar, the author of the *Fuṣul-i-Fayḍ-Allāh Khānī*, etc.

4. The following learned men flocked to their Courts:—

(*a*) Shāh Ra'ūf Aḥmad—see the *Tazkira-i-'Ulamā-i-Hind*, p. 66 and the *Khazanat-al-Aṣfiya*, Vol. II, p. 703;

(*b*) Anbar Shāh Khān—see the *Intekhāb-i-Yādgār* of Amir Mina'i, p. 4 and

(*c*) Ḥakim 'Āta-Allāh Khān, the author of the *Tazkira-i-Khuld-be-mithāl*.

rare MSS. In his time books and MSS., were purchased to the value of Rs. 12,258. Muftī Muḥammad Sa'adullāh[1] (d. 1294 A.H.=1876 A.D and other scholars dedicated their works to this Nawwāb.

Nawwāb Kalb 'Alī Khān (A.H. 1281-1304=A.D. 1864-1888) was a great friend of art and learning and purchased a large number of rare and valuable MSS. He spent Rs. 43,608 on the library, and his love of books is borne out by his autograph and signature in several MSS. He purchased the *Sad Pand Luqmān*[2] for Rs. 1,000. He appointed Raḥīm Shāh, the Inspector of the Jewel House, as librarian. An incomplete list of books and MSS. was prepared during his time by Munshi Amīr Aḥmad, Minā'ī, the author of the *Intekhāb-i-Yādgār*. Under his fostering care a large number of books were written and dedicated to the Ruler by distinguished scholars, who adorned his court.[3] Ja'far 'Alī Khān, a nobleman of Maw, (Dist. Shamsābād), presented him with a MS. of *Jāmi'u't-Tawārikh*, which had some miniatures. The Nawwāb Ṣāḥib was so much pleased that he gave him a gift of Rs. 2,000 and kept him as his guest for two years, with an allowance of Rs. 300 a month. Nawwāb Kalb 'Alī's life was cut short when he was writing in Persian a history of Cathay and China. An incomplete MS. of it may be seen in the library.

Nawwāb Mushtāque 'Alī Khān (1304-1306=A.H. 1887-1889 A.D.) did much to improve the condition of the library. He collected about 323 volumes when still an heir-apparent. He appointed Bakhshī 'Abdu'r Raḥim librarian and General Muḥammad 'Āẓamu'd-Din, chief officer of the library. Books and MSS. to the value of Rs. 7,885 were purchased during his time.

Nawwāb Ḥāmid 'Alī Khān Bahadur (A.H. 1306-1348=A.D. 1889-1930) allotted a new building in the fort for the library[4] and employed Ḥakīm Ajmal Khān the famous ḥakīm and nobleman of Delhi, as librarian, in addition to his hospital duties. The latter made many improvements. It was during his time that the first volume of the catalogue of Arabic books and MSS. was published. Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad 'Ali Khān, "Shawq," who was appointed instead of Ḥakīm Ajmal Khān as librarian, published the second volume of the catalogue. These catalogues, which abound in errors, do not contain full information regarding the works and their authors. During the long rule of Nawwāb Ḥāmid 'Alī Khān a sum of Rs. 87,398 was spent on the library.

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1. For his life see the *Ḥada'iq-al-Ḥanafiyā* p. 488 and the *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā-i-Hind*, p. 74.

2. It will be described shortly in MS. No. 7.

3. Sa'd-Allah Mufti, 'Abdul-Ḥaque Khayrābādi, son of Mawlana Faḍl-i-Ḥaque, and the ex-Head Maulvi of the Calcutta Madrasa and Dāgh, the well-known Urdu poet of India, etc., flocked to the Court of Kalb 'Alī Khān Bahadur.

4. This is the present library building. Nawwāb Mushtāque 'Alī Khān laid the foundation of this library building, but he died before it was constructed. It was completed in the time of his successor in 1309 A.H. (1891 A.D.) at the cost of Rs. 40,000. It consists of three rooms, one in the middle and one on each wing with a gallery running round in the central room. Its rooms are paved with stone mosaic.

The present ruler, His Highness Nawwāb Sayyid Rezā 'Alī Khān, son of Nawwāb Ḥāmid 'Alī Khān, ascended the throne in 1930 A.D. He patronises art and literature. In 1932 A.D. Mr. J. A. Chapman, formerly Librarian of Imperial Library, Calcutta, was employed as librarian to prepare the catalogue in English on modern lines. He stayed at Rampur for four years and gave the necessary library training to Mr. Imteyāz 'Alī 'Arshī. The latter is a good scholar of Arabic, Persian and Urdu. He is very intelligent and painstaking. He came to the library in 1932 A.D. when everything was in a chaos. He organised the library. I saw him looking after everything minutely. His love of learning made him decline lucrative posts offered him by the Nawwāb. He dedicated the *Makātib-i-Ghālib* (Urdu),[1] the *Kitāb-al-Ajnās* (Arabic),[2] the *Intekhāb-i-Ghālib* (Persian and Urdu),[3] the *Dastūr-al-Faṣāḥat* (Persian)[4] and the *Naderāt-i-Shāhī*[5] to the present Nawwāb. Mr. 'Arshi is working at present on the *Farhang-i-Ghālib*, a complete Urdu Diwān of Ghālib, the Persian letters of Ghālib, the commentary of al-Qur'ān in Arabic by Ṣufyān-al-Thawri (d. 161 A.H.=777 A.D.), etc.

Later on Chapman's policy of preparing catalogue in English was abandoned and the task of the preparation of the accurate lists in Oriental languages of all MSS. and printed books has been taken up. The lists are almost complete. At present Maulvi Wāhid 'Alī Khān, the Registrar of the library along others is preparing the catalogue of the printed books. It is hoped that after the publication of the lists of books, the long-cherished desire of the scholars of the world and specially of the Indian scholars will be fulfilled to a certain extent and they will flock to the library for research.

The library is divided into two sections—Shu'ba-i-Khāṣ and Shu'ba-i-'Ām. The former is the collection of all MSS. and books relating to the Shi'ite cult, placed under the charge of Mr. Maḥmud-al-Ḥasan, while the latter is the collection of books on other subjects. The latter is subdivided generally into Arabic, Persian and Urdu sections and is placed under the charge of Mr. Wājid 'Alī Khān, who has succeeded his father to this post. The books in European languages are directly under the charge of the librarian.

The library has MSS. on the following subjects :— Astrology, Astronomy, Biography, calligraphical specimens, commentaries on the Qur'ān,

1. This is the collection of those 129 letters in Urdu of Mirzā Ghālib, which were written to the Nawwābs of Rampur State and their relatives, published in 1937 A.D.

2. This is a rare *Resala* of Abu 'Ubaid Qāsim bin Salām Haravi, Baghdādi. It was published with notes and Introduction in 1938 A.D.

3. This is a collection made by Ghālib himself from his Persian and Urdu Diwāns for the Nawwāb of Rampur in 1866 A.D. It was published with notes and annotations in 1942 A.D.

4. This is the preface and *Khātima* of the book of *Yakta Lakhnawi* in Persian, published separately as the *Tazkira-i-Shu'arā* with notes and annotations in 1943 A.D.

5. This is a collection of the Persian, Urdu and Hindi speeches of Shāh 'Ālam II, the King of Delhi, published with an Introduction in 1943 A.D.

Chemistry, Dictionary of the Qur'ān, Ethics, Etymology, Fortune-telling, Fables, Fiction, Poetry, Geography, History, Index of the Qur'ān, Jurisprudence, Lexicography, Literature, Logic, Mathematics, Medicine, Music, Philosophy, Prosody, Rhetoric, Theology, Traditions, various Readings of the Qur'ān, Veterinary Science, etc.

It also possesses many unique MSS., rare paintings and fine specimens of calligraphy. There are also a large number of old printed books, which being out of print, may be regarded as valuable as manuscripts. The total number of volumes preserved in the library is about 27,897, out of which 10,501 are manuscripts. * These MSS. belong to the oriental languages—Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Hindi, Turkish, Pashto, Bhasha, Sanskrit, Nagiri and Punjabi.

It is one of the most important libraries in the world and perhaps the biggest oriental manuscript library in India. It is visited annually by twenty to twenty-five scholars who work there and are benefited by its precious collection. There is in it a splendid collection of Arabic and Persian MSS., well housed and cared for and one which does great credit to its founder and patrons. It was a great pleasure to find books so well housed as they are here and to have such an intelligent librarian as Mr. 'Arshī, in charge of them. Though probably there are more Persian MSS. in Europe than in India—and there is certainly no library here, which can compare with the vast collections of the British Museum, the India Office, the Bodleian, and the Berlin libraries—yet I am proud to say that there are still many valuable MSS. hidden away in India. The chief feature of the collection of this library is that apart from being full of ancient Arabic works on medicine, it is even richer in the writings of Indian authors, who have done so much for the collection and preservation of older works and the adaptation of the ancient system of medicine to their own surroundings and requirements. In view of the fact that this splendid collection is almost unknown in Europe, and not so well known even to the learned men in India, steps should be taken to make it more easily accessible to scholars.

The best collection of the library consists of the Arabic MSS. on Theology and Logic. There are many exceedingly valuable MSS. of interest to scholars all over the world. Besides MSS. the library possesses a large number of miniatures by old Iranian and Indian painters and some of them have the name of their painters written on them and for this very reason they are of great value. A large number of MSS. bear signatures and seals of the Mughal Emperors, scholars and chiefs. The following few MSS. are worth mentioning :—

(1) There is a copy of al-Qur'ān, transcribed by Imām Ja'far-i-Ṣādiq (d. 148 A.H.=765 A.D.). It is written in fine Kūfic script in black with the headings of the sūra in gold. A note dated 202 A.H.=

* Mr. H. Beveridge says that there were 8720 MSS. in the State Library (see JRAS, 1901, p. 74) and Mr. A. Suhrawardy corrects his statement and says, "The number of Arabic and Persian MSS. was 8587 up to September 1915 " (see JRASB, Vol. XIV 1918 p. CCVI).

817 A.D. by one 'Isā 'Alī-Yaqtivī confirms its authenticity. The whole copy is void of diacritical marks and vowel-points. This is older than the copy of the pocket edition of the al-Qur'ān, transcribed by Ibn-i-Muqla, which is also preserved in this library. Ibn-i-Muqla is a well-known and reputed scribe of the court of Baghdād, to whom is ascribed the invention of the Naskh style. He died in 328 A.H. (939 A.D.).

(2) There is another copy of al-Qur'ān, written on parchments and ascribed to Ḥadrat 'Alī, the fourth Caliph and the first Imām (d. 40 A.H.=660 A.D.). The script is purely Kūfic in which dots have been used for diacritical marks. Later on this copy has been ornamented by calligraphists.

(3) There is a beautiful copy of al-Qur'ān (33 folios) in fine Naskh within a six-line coloured border, with two double page title, one of the best specimens of the art of calligraphy. In the centre of the first page is a prayer from the Qur'ān with the sūra headings in gold, blue and red alternately, in a broad margin. Every page of the MS. is sprinkled with gold. Its binding is a good example of Persian lacquer. The fly-leaf bears a note by the then Nāzim Ṣāḥib of the Library dated 15th September, 1923 A.D., to the effect that the MS. was presented to Ḥāmid 'Alī Khān Bahadur of Rampur in Bombay by Sheikh Muḥammad Irānī, a merchant of the city.

(4) There is a unique copy of a commentary of al-Qur'ān in Arabic by Ṣufyān-al-Thawri. The author was an acknowledged master of his age in the Quranic Science and the Traditions of the Prophet. He died in 161 A.H. (777 A.D.). Mr. 'Arshī is working on this commentary.

(5) There is a rare autograph copy of the Muslim Law entitled *Fatāwā-i-Amīnya* (فتاوی امینیه) by Md. Amīn bin 'Abdullāh, composed in 978 A.H. (1570 A.D.). It is written in Naskh. It begins thus :—یاد(؟) انما علینا بتوفیق محامدك الخ .

(6) صدپندلقمان مع رساله خواجه عبد الله انصاری —There is a very famous religious tract entitled *Sad Pand Luqmān* with a treatise by Khwāja 'Abdullāh Anṣārī,' transcribed by the celebrated Iranian calligrapher, Mullā Mīr 'Alī (d. 957 A.H.=1539 A.D.), who is one of the most accomplished Nasta'liq writers. The MS. bears the autographs of the Mughal Emperors and of Jahān Ārā Begam. It bears two notes by Shāh Jahān. In the first note the Emperor says that the MS. was received for his library in Akbarabād in Rabi'-al-Awwal, 1039 A.H. (1629 A.D.). Immediately after the Emperor's signature there is a note which suggests that it was bought for one thousand rupees. In the next note he says that he gave it to his beloved daughter Jahān Ārā Begam in Zulḥijja, 1040 A.H. (1630 A.D.). On the left side of the first note is the following note by Jahāngīr

الله اکبر بتاریخ سیوم محرم سنه ۱۰۵؟ داخل کتابخانه این نیاز مند درگاه الهی شد حوزه جهانگیر ابن اکبر - پند نامه لقمان حکیم و سخنان عبد الله انصاری که بخط ملامیر علی ست

There is a note by Jahān Ārā on the fly-leaf at the end of the MS. in which she highly praises the sayings of 'Abdullāh Anṣārī. Most probably it is the only authentic note made by a Mughal lady of royal blood. Nawwāb Kalb 'Alī Khān of Rampur purchased it in 1300 A.H. (1882 A.D.) for Rs. 1000 from a man of Benares. It begins thus :— الحمد لله رب العالمین این چند پند سود مند است که لقمان الخ

The *Risāla-i-Khwāja 'Abdullāh Anṣāri* begins thus :—

یا رب دل مارا تو برحمت جان ده دردمه را بصابری درمان ده

(7) There is a unique copy of the romantic poem entitled *Mathnavī Zikr-al-'Aysh* by 'Āsi (?). The name of the author appears on fol. 12 thus :— آسی زرخ و لبش چو بلبل بر بوی گل و گلاب شد مست

It was composed in 932 A.H. (1428 A.D.) according to the chronogram on the last folio of the MS. The total number of verses is 4620. The MS. contains nine beautiful decorated pictures. It is written in excellent Ta'liq in Persian hand. It is not dated. It begins thus :—

ای نام تو فتح گنج مقصود بکشاده در خزاین جود

(8) A MS. of the *Diwān-i-Ḥāfiz* * (d. 791 A.H.=1338 A.D.) with the preface by Gul Andām is preserved in the library. Over and above its remarkable calligraphy, this MS. is noteworthy on account of its exquisite illuminations and artistic and finished ornamentation in gold on the margins which are well displayed on the Abri paper on which the MS. is written. There are also eleven miniatures in excellent style, including one of Akbar receiving three literary men. Evidently the MS. was designed and prepared for Akbar. Nawwāb Kalb 'Alī Khān purchased it for Rs. 50 only, as it appears from a note on fly-leaf.

(9) The *Diwān-i-Rif'at* is a diwān of the lyrical poems of Ghulām Jīlānī of Rampur, poetically called Rif'at (d. 1235 A.H.= 1819 A.D.). The present MS. was written in *shikasta* in the author's time (*i.e.*, 1230 A.H.=1814 A.D.).

(10) There is a manuscript of the *Mathnavī* of Mawlānā Rūmī. It was transcribed by 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf. He was a Ṣufi scholar of the time of 'Ālamgīr. The transcriber tells us in the preface that he has prepared the text of the poem from eighty MSS., written by a Persian scribe.

(11) There is a collection of the poems of 'Alī Ḥazin of Isfahan. The MS. was copied by a pupil of the poet in beautiful Nasta'liq. Its preface was written by 'Alī Ḥazin himself. The poems, composed after the MS. was copied, have been added on its margins by the author himself.

* Sayyid Muṣṭafā 'Alī Sabz Pusht of Gurakhpur, possesses a MS. of the *Diwan-i-Ḥāfiz*. The MS. was copied by one Muḥammad Ibn Sayeed 'Abdullah al-Qāri in Dhulhijja, 824 A.H. (October, 1421 A.D.) This is the oldest MS. of it known to me to be extant. I am grateful to my Supervisor Prof. M. Z. Ṣiddīqī, who showed me this copy.

(12) The *Diwān-i-Bahlūl*—This is a collection of the lyrical poems of Bahlūl, who died before 970 A.H. (1562 A.D.) The MS. was written in fine Nasta'liq in 1090 A.H. (1679 A.D.). Some portions of it are worm-eaten. It begins thus :—

شبنمی از بحر ودشت عشق شد گل خاك ما محزن اسرار شد خاك گل تمناك ما

(13) There is a unique manuscript of the poems, composed by the Emperor Bābur. It was transcribed for the Emperor in 935 A.H. (1528 A.D.). One Rubā'ī at the end with several corrections on the margins is in Bābur's own handwriting. It appears from a note by Shāh Jahān that the Rubā'ī was followed by the Emperor's signature ; but unfortunately it has been erased. On the title page there is a note by Bairam Khān-i-Khānān, dated 965 A.H. = 1557 A.D.

(14) The *Diwān-i-Kāmrān* is a rare poetical work,* composed by Prince Mirzā Kāmrān, son of Bābur (d. 956 A.H. = 1549 A.D.). It was transcribed by Faḍlu'l-lah Musharraf in the 11th century of the Hijra era. The MS. bears the seal of 'Alī Muẓaffar Khān, one of the chiefs of the court of Muḥammad Shāh.

(15) تعبیر رویا is a very interesting work on interpretation of dreams, composed by Abu Rayḥān Andalusi (?). The MS. was presented by the Emperor Akbar to Bairam Khān, with an autograph note by 'Abd-al-Raḥim Khān-i-Khānān (d. 1030 A.H. = 1626 A.D.), the Prime Minister of Akbar. It is written in excellent and distinct Ta'liq and has illuminated frontispiece and is undated. It begins thus : — افا صفکم(؟) ربکم بالبنین و اگر بیند که برداشت الخ

(16) المونس فی نزهة اهل المخلص —This is a very rare and interesting selection from the mathematical works in four treatises by Sheikh Muḥammad bin Ayyub-al-Māzandarānī(?). Some mischievous hand has erased the name of the transcriber. It was written in Naskh in 778 A.H. (1376 A.D.).

(17) The *Dastūra'l-bab-fi-'Ilmi'l-Ḥisāb* is a very rare and important book on mathematical calculation. It was composed by Ḥāji 'Abdu'l-Ḥāmid Muḥarrir Ghaznavi in 760 A.D. (1361 A.D.) during the reign of Firūz Tughlaq, when the author was more than 70 years of age. He wrote it for his son. It was divided into 5 *qisms*, 32 *babs* and 177 *faṣls*. It contains the methods of accounting followed in the Public Treasury and those of mathematical calculation, *i.e.*, addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, etc. It also gives the explanation of the technics of weights and measures, which were used by the Arabic writers.

The present MS. of it contains 254 pages. It is written in Arabic character on Murādābādī paper. It is incomplete at the end, eaten up by white ants and very much pasted up with paper here and there

* There is another copy of the book in the Bankipur Library. It has been edited by the late Prof. Maḥfuz-al-Ḥaque. His edition is based on the Bankipur MS., but the Rampur MS. contains more poems.

rendering the text in many places unreadable. This is a unique copy known to me to be extant. The date of transcription and transcriber's name are not known.

(18) The *Fīlnāma* (فیل نامه) is a rare and interesting treatise on elephant taming, composed by a certain man at a certain time. It is divided into seventeen chapters. It is written in Nast'aliq. The following elephant drivers have left prescriptions for the treatment of ailment of elephants. بهیکن خان - سید علی - گهاسی خان - شاه محمد فوجدار ، حسن خان ، موسی خان ، جان محمد ، ولی محمد ، شاه محمد ، ابراهیم خان ، کالیخان ، روشن خان

(19) ذخیره خوارزم شاهی —It is a very old and valuable copy of the second volume of the famous encyclopædia of Medical Science by Zainu'd-din Abū Ibrāhim Ismā'īl bin Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusain al-Jurjānī * (d. 535 A.H.=1140 A.D.). From a note on the fly-leaf it appears that this MS. was presented in 1282 A.H. (1865 A.D.) to Nawwāb Kalb 'Alī Khān (d. 1304 A.H. 1886 A.D.) of Rampur by Ṣadr-al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Nizām-al-Dīn. The headings are in Kūfic character. The MS. is dated 560 A.H. (1164 A.D.).

(20) The *Kitāb-al-Fuṣūl* —This is a unique MS. of a work in Arabic on *Ṭibb-i-Unānī* by Mūsā b. 'Abdullāh of Cordova, a Hebrew physician of the 7th century of the Hijri era. It was transcribed by Yūsuf b. 'Abdullāh, a brother of the author in 657 A.H. (1258 A.D.). It is written in remarkable Spanish style of Naskh script, with notes in Hebrew on the margins, most probably in the author's own hand.

(21) The *Rasm-i-Ālāt* is a rare work on mechanism in which the author Raīs-al-'Amal Abū Bakr-al-Jawzī, a scholar of the 6th century A.H., gives direction for making mechanical appliances. It was dedicated to Maḥmūd the King of Kīfa (in Syria). It was transcribed in the 13th century A.H.

(22) The *Kitāb-al-Ghazā-wal-Jehād* —This is a unique and illuminated copy of a work on military science, dealing specially with lance exercises. It was composed by Lajīn-al-Tarāblasī, an acknowledged authority in military science. The author flourished in the 8th century A.H. The present MS. was transcribed in the same century.

These MSS. are mentioned here being jewels of the library. We shall now come to its collection of history. It is not rich in historical works. There are only about 360 MSS. in Persian. Very few of them can claim to be valuable or rare. A brief list of the important MSS. is given below :—

(A) General history of India —

(1) The *Tārikh-i-Ḥaqqi* (fol. 143 ; ll. 15 ; size $8\times4\frac{3}{4}$; $6\frac{1}{4}\times3$) is a compendious general history of India from the time of Mu'izud-din Muḥammad b. Sam to the reign of Akbar. It was compiled in

* For details see India Office Library Catalogue MS. No. 2280.

1005 A.H. = 1596 A.D. by 'Abdul Ḥaque b. Saifuddin Dehlavī (d. 1052 A.H. = 1642 A.D.). On fol. 52 *b* he says that at the time he was writing his history, forty years and more of the reign of Akbar had elapsed. The MS. is written in good Indian Nasta'liq with gold and coloured borders, the headings being written in red. It is slightly defective at both the ends. It opens abruptly in the middle of the preface and breaks off in the middle while giving the account of Sulṭān Firuz b. Sulṭān Ḥusain, King of Multān. It is slightly worm-eaten and water-stained and its pages are wrongly arranged.[1]

(2) The *Mukhtaṣar-i-Laṭīf* (fol. 49 ; ll. 13 ; size $7\frac{3}{4}\times4\frac{1}{4}$; $7\times2\frac{3}{4}$) is a unique copy of a compendious short general history of India from the time of Sulṭān Shihābuddin Ghōrī to the fourth year of the reign of Farrukh Siyar (1124-1131 A.H. = 1712-1718 A.D.). It was composed by Rup Nara'in Khatri of Siyalkut at the instance of Nawwāb Luṭfullah Khān-i-Ṣādiq on the 12th Jamada I, 1131 A.H. (1817 A.D.). It is divided into 10 *bābs* (chapters). The first *bāb* (fol. 3*a*-29*a*) deals with the Sulṭāns of Delhi very briefly and the rest with the rulers of the provinces.

The colophon suggests that the MS. is the author's autograph. The title page bears the seal of Shams-al-Dowla Bahadur Ṣādiq. The MS. is written in Shikasta within double red and blue borders with the headings in red. It is slightly worm-eaten and water-stained. It begins thus.—

لب الالباب جمیع تواریخ و اخبار و خلص الخلاص الخ

(3) The *Haft-i-Gulshan* (fol. 204 ; ll. 15 ; size $11\frac{3}{4}\times7\frac{1}{4}$; $8\times4\frac{1}{2}$); is a general history of India from the earliest times to 1132 A.H. (1719 A.D.). It was composed by Muḥammad Hādi, entitled Kāmwār Khan.[2] It is written in Indian Nasta'liq with the headings in red. It appears from a note on the title page that the MS. was brought for the library from Shamsabād in 1878 A.D.

(4) The *Tāwarikh-i-Fathiyan* (fol. 105 ; ll. 25 ; size 18×9 ; 15×7) is a general history of India from Sulṭān Maḥmud Ghaznavī to the end of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1131-1161 A.H. = 1719-1748 A.D.) with an Introduction dealing with miscellaneous historical, geographical and religious matter. It was transcribed by Shamsuddin 'Alī in 1267 A.H. (1850 A.D.) in *Shikasta-amiz Nasta'liq*.

Fol. 104*a* contains a short autobiography of the author, Mir Fatḥullah Khān entitled Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān. From it we learn that one of his ancestors, Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān, came to India from his native city Tashqand, in the reign of Jahāngīr (1014-1037 A.H. = 1605-1627 A.D.), and under that Emperor held several important posts. He died in 1044 A.H. (1634 A.D.). The author's father, Mīr 'Abdullāh held the post of Qurbigi (keeper of the arsenal) under Prince Muḥammad 'Āzam, and

1. For further information of the book see Elliot, Bibliographical Index pp. 273-280 and his *History of India*, Vol. VI, p. 175-181.

2. For the detailed account of the author and the work see Bankipur Catalogue, Vol. VII, No. 541 ; Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. VIII, pp. 13-16 and Dr. Ethe's India Office Catalogue No. 394.

received the hereditary title of Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān. In the time of Farrukh Siyar, when Nizāmu'l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh Chin Qulij Khān (d. 1161 A.H.=1748 A.D.) was appointed Governor of Malwa, there he took the author with him with the Emperor's consent. The author remained attached to the service of Nizāmu'l-Mulk, and held several high posts under him. He records the history of his patron in detail and in most cases as an eye-witness.

The history proper, which ends on fol. 70*b*, is followed by short biographical notices of some eminent men, followers of Nizāmu'l-Mulk, beginning with the Nawwāb Ḥāmid Khān Bahadur and ending with Shamsu'l-Mulk 'Abdu'l Ḥayy Khān (d. 1196 A.H. 1781=A.D.). Though the historical portion terminates with the account of the death of Ghāzi-u'd-din Khān Firūz Jang, the eldest son of Nizāmu'l-Mulk at Aurangabad in 1165 A.H.=1752 A.D., yet the biographical portion of the book contains dates as late as 1172 A.H. (1758 A.D.). Folios 1*a*-3*a* contain a table of contents. An old piece of paper, pasted on the modern fly-leaf at the beginning bears the author's seal with the inscription and the date 1139 A.H. (1726 A.D.). Fol. 3*b* and 105*b* are blank. It is slightly worm-eaten and water-stained.

(5) The *Dastūr-al-Siyar* (fol. 320; ll. 12-15; size $10\frac{1}{4}\times 6\frac{1}{2}$; $8\times 4\frac{1}{2}$) is a general history of India. It was composed by Kāmil Mah (Shāh) in the time of Wājid 'Alī Shāh (1263-1273 A.H.=1847-1856 A.D.), the last King of Oudh, at the instance of his father-in-law and Prime Minister Nawwāb 'Alī Naqī Khān (d. 1278 A.H.=1871 A.D.). The work is divided into two *faṣls*, the first dealing with the pre-Islamic rulers of India, and the second with the Muslim rulers. The second *faṣl* is subdivided into 12 *ṭabaqat*. The twelfth one, dealing with the Timurid kings of India, forms the bulk of the work.

The MS. ends abruptly in the section dealing with Nādir Shah's invasion of India in the time of the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh (1131-1161 A.H.=1719-1748 A.D.). No other copy of the work is known to me to be extant. It is written in Indian Nasta'liq within double red and blue borders. There are numerous short lacunæ and fol. 26*b*, 56*b*, 149*b*, 219*b*, 258*b*, 260*b* and 285 are blank. It is slightly worm-eaten.

(B) Sultans and Emperors of Delhi:—

(6) The *Tuḥfah-i-Akbar Shāhī* also known as the *Tārikh-i-Sher Shāhī* (fol. 47; ll. 23; size $11\frac{3}{4}\times 7\frac{1}{2}$; $9\frac{1}{2}\times 4\frac{3}{4}$) is a history of the life and reign of Sher Shāh. It was composed by 'Abbās Khān b. Sheikh 'Alī Shirwānī, shortly after 987 A.H. (1579 A.D.), the author states in a short prefatory note at the instance of Akbar. It contains information received from accomplished and trustworthy Afghans, who had been in close touch with Sher Shāh from the time, he rose to power to the end of his reign.*

* For an account of the author and an abridged English version of the work see Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 301-433 and also see Storey's Catalogue—*A Bio-bib-biographical Survey of India*, Sect. II, Fasc. 3, Muslim History of India.

The present MS. was transcribed by Muḥammad 'Abdullāh in 1122 A.H. (1710 A.D.). The MS. written slantwise, is in shikasta on thick card-board within blue and gold borders. It does not contain the history of Islām Shāh and the later Suri kings of India about whom the author mentions in the Introduction.

There is a revised and enlarged edition of it by Ibrāhīm Batnī, who brought the history down to 1021 A.H. (1612 A.D.). Its two MSS. are preserved in the Bodleian Library.[1]

(7) The *'Ahdnāma-i-Salāṭīn-i-Ludhi-wa-Sādāt-wa Afghān*, (fol. 20; ll. 8; size $12\frac{1}{2}\times 8$; $9\times 4\frac{1}{4}$) is an interesting album, containing the portraits of eighteen rulers of Delhi belonging to the Sayyid and Afghān (Lūdi and Sūr) dynasties, beginning with Nuṣrat Shāh, who ascended the throne in 801 A.H. (1398 A.D.), and ending with Sikandar Shāh Sūr, the last ruler of the Sūr dynasty.

Each portrait bears the name of the ruler, the date of his birth, coronation, the length of his reign and death and also mentions his capital city and places where he was crowned and buried. But unfortunately these dates are not always correct. Here and there the place, prepared for writing the date of birth, has been left blank.

On the colophon (dated 1235 A.H.=1819 A.D.), it is stated that the album was prepared at the instance of Bedār Bakht or Prince Mirzā Muḥammad Bābar, son of Shāh Ẓafar, from a copy belonging to Tushakhana and when finished, was made over to Raqmullāh Khān, the librarian of the Prince's library. The present MS. is written on thick card-board in fair Indian Nasta'liq within illuminated border in the eighteen water-colour drawings.[2]

(8) The *Tārikh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghānī* is an important general history of the Afghans in India from Adam to the death of Khwāja Uthmān (1021 A.H. 1612 A.D.), when the Afghans lost all power and finally submitted to Jahāngir. It was composed by Khwāja Ni'matullāh b. Khwāja Ḥabibullāh Harani in 1021 A.H. (1612/13 A.D.).

The MS. No. 381 of the State Library was transcribed by 'Abdul Ḥamīd Khān on Wednesday, the 11th Ziqad, 1038 A.H. As far as my investigation goes it is the most complete and the oldest copy of the book in the world.[3]

(9) The *Makhzan-i-Afghāni* is an abridged version of the *Tārikh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī*, described above. There are two MSS. of it preserved in the Rampur State Library, Nos. 379 and 380. So

1. *cf.* Sachau-Bodleian Library Catalogue MS. Nos. 177 and 178.

2. There are also two other *'Ahdnāmās*—(1) *'Ahdnāma-i-Salāṭīn-i-Ghuri-wa-Khilji and* (2) *'Ahdnāma-i-Salāṭīn-i-Tughlaq*. They are also prepared at the instance of Mirzā Muḥammad Bābar in 1234 A.H. (1818 A.D.).

3. There is also preserved another MS. of it. The two MSS. will be dealt fully in the next article on the *Tārikh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī*.

far as I know there are only four MSS. of this book in India, the third one being at Patna city in the possession of Mr. Rai Mathura Prashad,[1] and the fourth one is preserved in the Kapurthala State Library.

(A) The Rampur MS. No. 379 of it is in size $9\frac{3}{4}\times 6\frac{1}{4}$; $7\times 3\frac{3}{4}$. It contains 615 pages, having 13 lines a page and 13 to 16 words a line, excluding the first and the last page, containing 8 and 9 lines respectively. It begins thus :— حمد یکه مؤر خان و بایع نگار و مستخبران بدایع افکار الخ

In the Introduction of the book it is stated that it was composed by Ni'matullāh in 1018 A.H. with the help of Haibat Khān.[2]

It is divided into three *bābs* and three *daftars* :—

Introduction	.. An account of the work.
Bāb I	.. History of the Afghans, from Adam and Ya'qūb Israēl to the King Ṭālūt.
Bāb II	.. History of King Ṭālūt and the migration of the Afghans to the mountains of Ghur.
Bāb III	.. History of Khālid b. Walīd, to the end of 'Omar Fārūq, and the history of the Afghans up to 835 A.H. (1431 A.D.), when Sulṭān Shāh the uncle of Sulṭān Bahlūl, held Sirhind in jagir.
Daftar I	.. History of the Ludi Sulṭāns of India.
Daftar II	.. History of the Sūri Kings of India up to the death of Khwāja 'Uthmān.
Daftar III	.. An account of the Afghan dervishes.
Khātima	.. Genealogy of the Afghans.'[3]

Its Daftar II begins like a book with بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم which indicates that it is a separate chapter altogether, borrowed from a different book. This daftar ends with the remark of a certain Ibrāhīm Batnī on page 470.[4]

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1. I am grateful to Mr. Syed Ḥasan 'Askarī, Patna College, who kindly informed me that his friend Rai Mathura Prashad, Patna city, possessed a MS. of the *Makhzan*. I approached him, who borrowed it for me from the owner of the MS.

The MS. is in size 9×6 ; $6\frac{1}{2}\times 4$. It comprises 343 pages, having 15 lines a page and 10 to 12 words a line, excluding the first and the last page, containing 10 and 7 lines respectively and page 146, 16 lines. It begins like those of Rampur and tallies with them, often correcting their texts ; but terminates with Daftar II, which begins and ends like the Daftar II of those of Rampur. It is an old copy but well preserved. It is written in fine Nasta'liq.

2. From the contents of the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī*, it appears that it is an epitome of Ni'matullah's original book the *Tārikh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī*, composed in 1021 A.H. with some alterations introduced therein. The man, who brought the author's original work into the present form, is not known. However, the two books will be critically examined in the next article on the *Tārikh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī*.

3. Here the transcriber failed to arrange the contents of the book properly ; for Daftar III contains the life of the Sheikhs as it is stated on p. 7 in the Introduction and *Khātima*, to which there is no reference on p. 7 at the time of dividing the book into *bābs* and *daftars*, contains the genealogies of the Afghans contrary to the statement made on pp. 4-5

چنانچه شمه ذکر خوارق ایشان در خاتمه کتاب مسطور خواهد شد انشاء الله تعالی

4. See also Dorn's *History of the Afghans*, Vol. I, p. 184.

مصنف اصل این تاریخ شیر شاهی عباس شروانی است چون بعضے مقدمه احوال
باز بهادر ووقایع کرانیان ومذاکر لوحانیان وبعضے مقوله دیکر داخل درین نبود بنا بران
ناقص می نمود. درینولا احقر العباد ابراهیم بتنی آنرا از تاریخ نظامی که او نیز احوال شیر شاه
واسلام شاه نوشته است وبعضے مقدمه از کتاب مخزن افغانی از تصنیف نعمت الله سامانی
است انتخاب نموده داخل این تاریخ کرده باتمام رسانید بدعای خیراز خوانده ونویسنده
تاریخ امید وار گشت والله اعلم بالصواب.

" The original author of this *Tārikh-i-Sher-Shāhī* is 'Abbās Sarwani. But as this work is deficient in some particulars, such as the affairs of Bāz Bahadur, the memoirs of the Karranis and the Luhanis, and in some other matters, the history was incomplete. So in these days the humble servant Ibrāhim Batnī has made extracts from the *Tārikh-i-Nizāmī*, which also contains the history of Sher Shah and Islām Shāh and he has selected sundry matter from the *Makhzan-i-Afghanī*, written by Ni'-matullāh Samahi (?) and having introduced them into this history, has made it complete ; which he hopes will be kindly received both by reader and writer and God knows better."

The passage shows that this chapter is really from an enlarged version of the *Tārikh-i-Sher-Shāhī*, which Ibrāhim Batnī wanted to complete. This chapter of the *Makhzan* begins and ends like that of the *Tārikh-i-Sher-Shāhī*, revised and enlarged by Ibrahīm Batnī.* It means that this chapter was bodily incorporated into the *Makhzan* from the revised copy of the *Tārikh-i-Sher-Shāhī*. The other sections of this MS. also, however, begin with بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم which suggest that they are new chapters later on included in the book. The MS. ends thus :—

وگفتار ایشان هم بجای نمی رسد گنجایش نیست و الله اعلم بالصواب تمت

It was transcribed by Fayḍ 'Alī in 1210 A.H./1795 A.D. at the instance of a certain Begam Ṣāḥibah. It is written in bold Indian Nasta'liq within double red and blue borders with the headings in red. The last few pages are worm-eaten, but the contents of those pages are readable.

(B) The next MS. No. 380 of the *Makhzan* is $9\frac{3}{4}\times6\frac{3}{8}$; $7\frac{1}{4}\times4\frac{1}{4}$. It contains 346 pages, having 15 lines a page and 16 to 18 words a line, with the exception of the first and the last page, which contain 12 and 2 lines, respectively. It begins and ends just like the preceding copy. These two Rampur MSS. are practically identical one being a copy, as it were of the other, as there is slight variation in the readings in both the texts.

The MS. with the headings in red, is written in fine Indian Nasta'liq. Some pages of the beginning specially 1-13 are badly worm-eaten and water-stained and from page 276 onwards specially pp. 336-346 are slightly worm-eaten, but rendering the text unreadable at some places.

* Sachau, Bodleian Library MS. Nos. 177 and 178.

The copyist's name and the date of transcription are not known. The seal of Nawwāb Karimullāh Khān, son of Nawwāb Fayḍullāh Khān, dated 1235 A.H. (1819 A.D.) is borne on the title page with the following remarks :— این کتاب مخزن افغانی در ملك محمد دلیر خان اگر کسے دعوی کند باطل و عاطل است

(10) The *Tārikh-i-Bābarī* (fol. 124 ; ll. 15 ; size $8\frac{1}{2}\times 5\frac{1}{2}$; $6\times 3\frac{1}{4}$) is a copy of a rare and important history of Bābar's conquest of India, with an account of the wonders of this country.[1] It was composed by Sheikh Zainuddin Khwani poetically called Wafā'i (d. 940 A.H. 1533 A.D.).[2]

It is stated in a note on the title page in the same hand as the text that the author held the post of Ṣadr under Bābar, who very often mentions his name in his Memoirs. Besides writing this history, Wafā'i translated 'Bābar's Turkish Memoirs' into Persian.[3]

It has no preface and opens with the headings ' His Majesty's fifth expedition to India.' The narrative begins with Friday the 1st Ṣafar, 932 A.H. (the 17th November, 1525 A.D.) and comes down to 936 A.H. (1529-30 A.D.). It is written in fine Indian Nasta'liq within double red and blue borders, with the headings in red. It is slightly worm-eaten and water-stained and the last folio is badly damaged.

(11) The *Tārikh-i-'Ārif-i-Qandahārī* (fol. 115 ; ll. 21 ; size 9×6 ; $6\times 3\frac{1}{2}$) is a unique copy of a work treating the history of Akbar from his birth to the month of Ṣafar 988 A.H.(1580 A.D.). It was composed by Ḥajī Muḥammad 'Ārif Qandahārī. He gives a short account of his life on fol. 29*b*. According to his own statement he was a servant of Bairam Khān, whom he accompanied on his pilgrimage to Mecca and was present in his camp when Bairam Khān was killed by an Afghan at Patan, a town in Gujarat, on the 14th Jamada I, 968 A.H. (1560 A.D.). After him 'Ārif accompanied his young son Mirzā 'Abdur-Raḥīm (d. 1036 A.H. 1627 A.D.) to Ahmadabad, whence he started alone on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He embarked 'Kambā'it' for Jidda, but the ship was driven by contrary winds to Hurmuz. There he left the ship and visiting the holy shrines of Basra, Baghdad and Syria reached Mecca and performed the Ḥajj.

The history is written in a simple, plain, straightforward style and deals with all the important events of Akbar's life and reign. The author's liberal-mindedness is evident from the fact that he openly criticises his patron, Bairam Khān, for his rebellion against Akbar and curses those who had misled him. The work is not divided into chapters and sections, but the events are recorded chronologically year by year under several headings. The last event recorded is the return of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm from Badakhshān to Kabul in Ṣafar 988 A.H.=1580 A.D., after reconciling Mirzā Sulaimān with his grandson Shahrukh Mirzā. The

1. See Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 288, where the same work is described under the title *Ṭabaqāt-i-Bābarī*.

2. For Wafā'i's life see Badāyūnī's *Muntakhab-at-Tawārikh* pp. 341-471.

3. See Rieu, B. M. Catalogue, p. 926.

work is frequently quoted by Ferishta in the *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī* and by Sarupchand in *Ṣaḥiḥul-Akhbār*.[1]

The MS. is defective at the beginning, where the first folio is lacking, and it is also defective after folio 69, where one or two folios seem to be lacking. Folios 13 and 14, which should come after fol. 12, have been wrongly placed by the binder at the end. The MS. is written in fine Persian Nasta'liq within gold and blue borders with the headings in red. The folios have been mounted on new margins. It is slightly worm-eaten and water-stained.

(12) The *Durjun-Nafā'is* (fol. 429 ; ll. 17 ; size $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$; $6\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$), is a rare copy of an abridgment of the *Akbarnāma* by Sheikh Munawwar, arranged and completed by his nephew 'Abdul-Shakūr Bazmī, son of Sheikh 'Abdul-Jalil Chishti Fārūqī Akbarābādī. This Bazmī appears to be the same person as the author of *Rat Padam* which was composed in 1028 A.H. (1618 A.D.) in the same metre as Faiḍi's *Nal-Daman*. His biographers make a mistake in calling him the son of Sheikh Munawwar, for he calls him his maternal uncle in the preface to this work. Bazmī died at Agra in 1073 A.H. (1662 A.D.).[2]

After describing the author, Sheikh Munawwar, as a well-versed historian, and a great favourite of Nawwāb Jahāngīr Qulī Khān (d. 1041 A.H. = 1631 A.D.), Bazmī states in his preface that his uncle, finding 'Abul-Faḍl's *Akbarnāma* too lengthy, and therefore tiresome to the students of history, abridged it but that he died leaving it unrevised and disarranged. He adds that it was he who revised and arranged the work after his uncle's death, and completed it with a preface of his own.

It ends as the original text does with Akbar's forty-sixth regnal year. For the history of the remaining period of his reign the author refers to the continuation of *Akbarnāma* by Mirzā Ja'far Āṣaf Khān (d. 1021 A.H. = 1612 A.D.).

This MS. was transcribed during Bazmī's time in 1065 A.H. (1655 A.D.) by Sheikh Pīr Muḥammad (d. 1065 A.H.). It is written in Shikasta-amiz Nasta'liq within double red and blue borders. The headings, which are written in black in the text, are repeated in red in the margins. It is slightly worm-eaten and water-stained. It contains a note on fol. 429*b* by Murshid Qulī Khān[3] stating that the MS. came into his possession from the library of Prince Rafi'uddarajāt, the brother of Sulṭān-i-'Ālam Farrukh Siyar.

1. Elliot has a short note on the work in his *History of India*, Vol. VI, p. 572, where he omits 'Ārif in the author's name and remarks : " I cannot learn that there is any copy of this work extant." There is also a photograph copy of the Bodleian Library Add. 2778. in this library. Sayyid Aẓhar 'Alī, M.A., (Ph.D.), the Persian Professor of the Delhi University, is working on it. His edition is almost complete and is waiting for publication.

2. See Rieu, B. M. Catalogue, p. 1036.

3. Murshid Qulī Khān was the son-in-law of Shujā-u'ddin, Governor of Bengal, by whom he was appointed governor of Katak. Being defeated by Muḥabbat Jang in 1152 A.H. (1739 A.D.), he fled to the Deccan, where he died.

(13) The *Ma'āṯhir-i-Jahāngīrī* (fol. 58; ll, 11; size $12\frac{3}{4}\times7\frac{1}{4}$; 9×5) is a history of the early life of Jahāngir, composed by Kāmgār Ḥusain (d. 1050-1640) in the third year of Shāh Jahān's reign (1040 A.H. 1630-31 A.D.).

This beautiful MS. was transcribed by Daya Ram Kul *alias* Ṭūṭa in 1293 A.H. (1876 A.D.). It is written on gold-sprinkled paper in good Indian Nasta'liq within broad gold and coloured borders, with a beautiful double page *'Unwān*.[1]

(14) The *Aurang-Nāma* (fol. 31; ll. 13; size $7\frac{1}{4}\times4\frac{1}{4}$; $5\frac{1}{2}\times2\frac{3}{4}$) is a unique copy of a work comprising a detailed history of the eventful period, while Aurangzeb succeeded in crushing his rivals and establishing himself on the throne. In the concluding lines the author Khwāja Qāsim Dānā Arzānī, requests the Emperor to grant him a plot of land in the pargana of 'Ālamgīrpur, Malwa, where he wanted to settle down. There is nothing new in the work, all the facts contained in it have already been related at length by Khafi Khān and the other historians of Aurangzeb's time. This MS. is written in shikasta with the headings in red. It is slightly worm-eaten.

(15) The *Tārikh-i-Chaghta'i* (fol. 204; ll. 17; size $10\frac{3}{4}\times6$; $7\frac{1}{2}\times4$) is a history of the Timurids of India from their origin to the twenty-first year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1131-1161 A.H.= 1719-1748 A.D.). Muḥammad Shafi' Warid b. Muḥammad Sharīf Tehrānī began to compose it on the 11th Ramaḍān, 1139 A.H. (1726 A.D.) and completed it in 1152 A.H. (1739 A.D.)

From the preface it appears that it contains four *ṭabaqāt*, but the present MS. contains only one *ṭabaqā* and the other three which were devoted to kings, amirs, faqirs, 'ulama and poets are missing. It was transcribed in 1261 A.H. (1845 A.D.). The MS., with the headings in red, is written in fine Indian Nasta'liq.

An earlier recension of the work designated *Mir'at-i-Wāridāt*, ends with the 16th year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh.[2] The MSS., in which the history concludes with the invasion of Nādir Shāh, bear, for the most part, the title of the *Tārikh-i-Chaghta'i*.[3]

(16) The *Tārikh-i-Muẓaffarī* (fol. 224; ll. 19; size $12\frac{1}{2}\times7\frac{3}{4}$; $9\frac{1}{2}\times5\frac{1}{2}$) is the history of the Timurid kings of India from their origin to 1212 A.H. (1797 A.D.). The last recorded event is the death of Nawwāb Aṣaf-ud-dawla, Nawwāb of Oudh (1188-1212 A.H.= 1774-1797 A.D.). According to Elliot the work was composed in about 1215 A.H. (1800 A.D.) by Muḥammad 'Alī Anṣārī.[4] The continuation added later on by the author, which according to Rieu[5] brings the record down to 1225 A.H. (1810 A.D.) is not given in the

1. I have a copy of this MS. There is another MS. of it in the Allahabad University Library.
2. See Rieu, B. M. Catalogue, p. 275 and Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. VIII, pp. 21-24.
3. See Rieu, B. M. Catalogue, p. 924.
4. See Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. VIII, p. 316.
5. See Rieu, B. M. Catalogue, p. 283.

present copy. The MS.; with the headings in red, is written in fine Indian Nasta'liq. It is slightly worm-eaten and some folios are seriously damaged.

(C) Provincial Rulers—

(17) The *Tārikh-i-Shāhiya-i-Nishāpuriya* (fol. 87; ll. 15; size $10\frac{1}{4}\times 6\frac{1}{4}$; $7\frac{3}{4}\times 3\frac{3}{4}$) is a rare MS. It contains the history of Burhanul-Mulk, the founder of the Oudh dynasty, and his successors down to the accession of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh (1253-1258 A.H.= 1837-1842 A.D.). It was composed by Qāsim 'Alī b. Mirzā Muḥammad b. Mirzā Ja'far b. Mirzā Muḥammad Amir Hamadāni in 1254 A.H. (1838 A.D.). The present MS. breaks off abruptly in the section dealing with the accession of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh. The last folio, written in a different and much later hand, records the last events of the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh, with an account of his death.

Qāsim 'Alī describes the contemporary events to most of which he was an eye-witness and which were left out by the author of the *'Imādus-Sa'ādat*,* a history of the Oudh dynasty, brought down to 1216 A.H. (1801 A.D.). This MS. contains on fol. 87*b* an extract from the beginning of *'Imādus-Sa'ādat*. It is written in ordinary Indian Nasta'liq with the headings in red. It is slightly worm-eaten and water-stained.

(18) The *Tārikh-i-Farah Bakhsh* (fol. 156; ll. 16; $9\frac{1}{4}\times 6$; $6\frac{3}{4}\times 3\frac{3}{4}$) is a history of the Rohilla Pathans from their first arrival in Kaithar during the reign of Sher Shāh (948-952 A. H.=1542-1545 A.D.) down to the date of the composition of this work. After praising Nawwāb Fayḍullāh Khān (d. 1208 A.H. 1793 A.D.), his capital Rampur, the river Kosi, on the bank of which the city is built, Shew Prashad tells us in the Introduction that he composed it at the order of Colonel Cullis, of the Cantonment of Bilgaram. This is the same book as the *Tarikh-i-Fayḍ Bakhsh* noticed by Rieu. According to Rieu it was dedicated to Kirkpatrick and not to Colonel Cullis.*

The present MS. was transcribed in 1235 A.H. (1819 A.D.) during the time of Nawwāb Aḥmad 'Alī Khān, ruler of Rampur. It is written in nim-shikastah with the headings in red. It is slightly worm-eaten and water-stained.

(19) The *Waqi'āt-i-Fath-i-Bangala* (fol. 38; ll. 17; size $9\frac{1}{2}\times 6\frac{1}{2}$; $6\frac{3}{4}\times 4$) is the history of Allahwardi Khān Mahābat Jang, Ruler of Bengal (1153-1169 A.H.=1740-1756 A.D.). It was composed by Muḥammad Wafā. It is divided into three chapters, the first dealing with the victory of Mahābat Jang over the Marathas in 1156 A.H. (1743 A.D.); the second with the rebellion of Muṣṭafa Khān and his pursuit by Haibat Jang, the son in-law of Mahābat Jang in 1158 A.H. (1745 A.D.); the third, with the death of Haibat

*See Rieu, B. M. Catalogue, p. 306.

Jang in 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.). Each of the three chapters is composed in short sentences and each one is so contrived that it forms a chronogram for the event, described in the chapter—that makes the history no inconsiderable feat of intellectual ingenuity.

No other copy of the work is known to me to be extant; but a transcription of this copy is being made at the instance of a scholar of Patna. It is written in fair Indian Nasta'liq with the headings in red. It is slightly worm-eaten.

(20) The *'Ibrat-i-'Arba'i-Baṣar* (fol. 79 ll. 10, size $10\frac{1}{2}\times 6\frac{1}{4}$; $7\frac{1}{2}\times 4\frac{1}{4}$) is a history of Bengal from the fall of Sarfarāz Khān in 1151 A.H. (1738 A.D.) to the death of Sirājuddawla in 1170 A.H. (1756/57 A.D.).

The title of the work expresses in a chronogram, the date of Sirājuddawla's death (1170 A.H.=1756 A.D.) and the entire work is written in short sentences, each so worded that the numerical powers of the letters amount in the aggregate to the same number 1170 A.H. It was transcribed by Pandit Raja Ramkul *alias* Ṭūṭa Brahmine Kashmiri in 1290 A.H. (1873 A.D.). It is written in elegant Indian Nasta'liq within gold and coloured borders with a beautifully illuminated double page 'Unwān. It is slightly worm-eaten.[1]

(21) The *Tārikh-i-Munshi* (fol. 205 ; ll. 13 ; size $9\frac{3}{4}\times 7\frac{1}{4}$; $7\frac{1}{4}\times 4\frac{1}{4}$) is a history of the Nāẓims of Bengal from the time of Aurangzeb to 1281 A.H. (1865 A.D.). It was composed by Muḥammad Najaf 'Alī Khān in 1281 A.H. and was dedicated to Sayyid Manṣūr 'Alī Khān, Nawwāb of Murshidabād. The author calls himself a native of Jhajjar and the servant of the above Nawwāb, an account of whose family is given fully in the work. It is divided into four muqaddima, eight *bayan* and a *khatima*. The MS. is written in fine Nasta'liq with the headings in red on blue paper. It is slightly worm-eaten.

(22) The *Ḥālāt-i-Rājagān* is a unique and illuminated MS. of a work containing the life accounts of 8 Hindu Rajas of ancient times. It was transcribed in the 11th century A.H.[2]

In the following few sentences, I may sum up what I have described before. As no proper catalogue of the MSS. presented in the library, has been published up till now, I have written this article in order to make its richness and importance known to the world of scholars. In this article after tracing the history of the growth of the library and the good services rendered to it by different librarians, I have given a short description of some of its important and rare MSS. including specially some of the rare and useful historical ones, which have been little utilised by the scholars.

S. M. IMAMUDDIN.

1. It has been lithographed at Benares in 1824 A.D.
2. I have a copy of this MS. and I am working on it.

AKBAR AND 'ABDULLA KHAN

THAT in the latter part of the 16th century the tree of kingship bore some of its finest fruits is a fact which still remains unaccounted for by the students of history. An age which could boast of Elizabeth of England and Philip II of Spain in Europe, was no less fruitful in the sister continent of Asia. The names of Akbar of India and Abdulla of Turan will add glory and renown to any period. Not only did their countries under their inspiring leadership take long strides in the internal progress of the state but their very genius too, led to far-reaching consequences in their dealings with each other. The high standard of statesmanship which characterised their relations, will make an interesting chapter of history.

'Abdulla Khan had risen to power solely through his military prowess. He took upon himself the role of defending Transoxiana against the onslaught of Borak Khan, a tribal leader from the north-eastern steppes of Central Asia. His success had made him a national hero and he was looked upon by his subjects as one who would realise the fondest hopes and dreams of Shaibani Khan. 'Abdulla also shared the passion of his people. He was bent upon incorporating Badakhshan and Persia in his empire, which were to serve as stepping stones to further extension conquest.

The Emperor of India, too, had his aspirations. His grandfather Babur had conquered the Indian Empire but the possession of such an extensive and fertile country could not make him forget the charms and pleasures of his youthful days in Transoxiana. Babur's successor and son, Humayun, had almost reconquered a major portion of his ancestral territory, but fate willed otherwise, and he had to turn back because of the rebellion of his younger brother. Akbar too, could never forget the land which had once formed the core of the empire of his great ancestor, Timur. He looked upon 'Abdulla Khan as usurper who should be dispossessed in order to establish the Mughals in the land of their forefathers.

Another factor, cultural in nature, led Akbar to the same conclusion. Egotistic and vain though it might appear, nevertheless it was a truth borne out by the facts of history that the Mughal Emperors considered themselves born with a mission, to establish peace and tranquillity in this world full of bickerings and dissensions. Though none of these monarchs were completely free from this sense of duty, Akbar was, more than any

of them, highly conscious of it. We can imagine him looking with horror and disgust at the land of the Uzbegs where religious persecution was the order of the day and burning with a desire to unsheath his sword in the cause of righteousness.

But the Emperor of India was nothing if not a realist. Dreams he had, but he was equally aware of his limitations and the strength of his contemporary. 'Abdulla was a hard nut to crack. The present was not the time to indulge in reckless expedition against Transoxiana and attempting its conquest. That task was to be relegated to the future when 'Abdulla might become weaker or be succeeded by a weakling. The pressing necessity of the moment was to defend Badakhshan and Persia from the all-devouring ambition of the Uzbeg monarch.

The period under review is marked by two distinct trends of policy in the relation between the two Emperors. The first period extends from 1556 to 1589, when 'Abdulla was warlike and aggressive and his noble contemporary in India mainly remained on the defensive. In the second period covering the last years of Akbar's reign till 1605 the tables were turned. Weakened by growing old age, tormented by the shadows of approaching death and disillusioned by the rebellious attitude of his son, 'Abdulla became meek and humble and, again and again, approached the Mughal Emperor to counteract the designs of the Shah of Persia against his own empire. The Mughal Emperor, thanks to the various forces at work, found himself in the lucky position of realising his cherished dream. But the internal condition of his empire was anything but satisfactory, and he was thus obliged to let slip this opportunity.

Turning to Badakhshan, it was then ruled by Mirza Sulaiman, a relative of Akbar. Living, as he did, in the age of great personalities, he shared some of their ambition without any of their qualities. The kingdom of Badakhshan was far too small to satisfy his ambition and he cast his covetous eyes east and west for further expansion. He attacked Kabul when the great Akbar, still in his teens, succeeded to the throne on the premature death of his father. But the sturdy Mughal Governor of that place, Mun'im Khan, proved more than a match for him and forced him to retreat. Then he turned against Balkh. Unable to stand the sudden onslaught, the Uzbeg Governor, Pir Mohammad, pretending submission, approached Sulaiman for peace, offering Aibak and Khulm as its price. At the same time he asked the Uzbeg princes for assistance in the hope that when that would be available he could throw off the mask. Later the Mughal ambassador, M. Beg Barbs, who had come to settle the terms of the treaty, was murdered and Pir Mohammad advanced with his army to punish Mirza Sulaiman for the unwarranted aggression. He realised the foolishness of his action and fled home with his army. But the pursuers proved too quick for them and the Mirza had to pay for his rashness by the life of his son, Ibrahim I.*

* *Akbarnama*, Vol. II. p. 188.

The sudden onrush of the Uzbegs terrified Mirza Sulaiman. Not only had his castles in the air fallen to the ground but his very existence was threatened. He appealed to the Emperor of India, for his assistance against the Uzbegs, begging forgiveness for his attack on Kabul. Akbar was too shrewd a diplomat not to make the best of this heaven-sent opportunity. Then, if ever, the situation could be turned to the best advantage by making Badakhshan a buffer state to keep the Uzbegs at arm's length. The Mirza's apologies were graciously accepted with a promise of every assistance against the enemy.

'Abdulla in the meantime had not lost sight of Persia. His ambassador Haji Altamash arrived in Delhi in 1572. Abul Fazl gives a very brief account of the event, giving the object of the visit to revive old relations and to renew friendship so that with the help of the Emperor he might act effectively against the princes of Turan. Another object was that he might continue in peace, without the fear of the invasion from the world-conquering armies. The Emperor, on his return from Gujrat received the ambassador and sent him back with a reply to the letter which he had brought. He denied the Uzbeg ruler the usual courtesy of sending a return embassy as, according to the court-historian, it was no use showing courtesy to a person against whom hostilities were to be shortly resumed. In addition to that the celebrated author of *Akbarnama* refers to certain proposals which the ambassador had brought which widened the gulf between the two monarchs. The proposals, no doubt, were kept a secret and the court-historian was not permitted to divulge it to anyone. A study of the happenings in Central Asia, however, threw light on this subject. With the end of Shah Tahmasp drawing nearer, the prospect of a civil war in Persia loomed large on the horizon. In fact, the claimants to the throne had realised the inevitability of a conflict and the ambassador of Khodaband, the eldest son of the Shah had already arrived at the Mughal court to win the favour of the Indian monarch. Shrewd diplomat as 'Abdulla was, he sensed the atmosphere. The heaven-sent opportunity he had waited for so long had at last come. If he could utilise it to his advantage, the dream of an Uzbeg empire extending over the length and breadth of Central Asia might at last be realised. One of the greatest obstacles in his way was the Indian monarch who looked upon every move of 'Abdulla with suspicion. The only way to win him was to promise him a share in the booty. Hence it would not be far from truth to conclude that the proposal contained a scheme for the partition of Persia. The Mughal Emperor, as explained before, was determined to oppose, tooth and nail, any such objective.

Hardly had the Uzbeg ambassador left India, when a civil war broke out at Badakhshan. The seed of this fratricidal strife had been sown years ago. Khanum, the widow of Mirza Kamran, while going to her father at Kashghar, attracted the attention of Mirza Sulaiman. Her ravishing beauty so much infatuated the old man that he sought her hand in marriage. This excited the jealousy of another spouse, Haram Begam,

who contrived in such a way that the prize went to her own son by Mirza Sulaiman, Ibrahim Mirza. As related before, the young man was killed in a skirmish with the Uzbegs. He left behind, Khanum and her seven-year old boy, Shahrukh Mirza, to mourn his death. The nobles who were always looking for an opportunity to fish in troubled waters, incited Khanum to put forth the claim of his child against his grandfather and the latter's domineering better-half, Haram Begam. The situation portended to become grave but for the wisdom of Shahrukh, who waited upon his grandfather and issued orders for the arrest of the conspiring nobles.

Shortly after the disappointed clique got another opportunity of stirring up trouble when 'Abdulla Khan invaded Hisar. The inhabitants of the unfortunate town solicited the support of Sulaiman who mustered his resources to go to the rescue of the besieged. At this juncture Muhammad Quli, one of the noblemen, revolted and he was supported by Khanum. The latter with her child Shahrukh retired to the heights of the Hindukush where she was joined by Muhammad Quli. The preparations being complete, the rebels advanced with lightning speed to battle and conquest. The governors of Andarab and Kahmard were forced to yield. But by this time Mirza Sulaiman completed his preparation and the rebels, to their disappointment found that they were no match for him. Success was almost assured to the old man when something unexpected happened which changed the course of events. The victorious soldiers of Sulaiman were faced with the option of either risking the lives of their families at Qunduz, which had been captured by the rebels by remaining faithful to Mirza Sulaiman or going over to Shahrukh and saving their kith and kin. In that tumultuous period of the Central Asian history when fealty to the sovereign was an exception rather than a rule, they likely enough deserted their master en bloc. Shahrukh, whose very existence was in peril, had the good fortune to find himself one morning master of the situation. The heart-broken old man asked his grandson for peace, but they could not agree on the terms. Sulaiman went to Kabul to seek Mirza Hakim's support but the latter directed him to Delhi. The Emperor accorded Mirza Sulaiman warm reception and promised his support to recover Badakhshan.

The alarmed Khanum sent 'Abdur Rahim Beg and M. Isḥāq to explain her case to Akbar and also ask the hand of his daughter in marriage to Shahrukh.* The Emperor found himself in a dilemma. If he did not accede to her request the dissatisfied Khanum would throw herself on the mercy of 'Abdulla who would thus secure Badakhshan without even a fight. At the same time the Emperor had given his solemn oath to Sulaiman, and he had to stick to it. The exigencies of the situation, however, had the better of honesty and the ambassadors of the Khanum were graciously received. Akbar's duplicity disappointed Sulaiman and he left Agra ostensibly to visit Ḥejaz, but in reality to seek assistance

* *Akbarnama*, Vol. II, 295.

elsewhere.[1] He found a favourable response from Shah Ismail who placed some Iraqi troops at his disposal. But here, too, his bad luck did not leave him, and following the death of the Shah the Persian auxiliaries deserted their new master. The reckless Mirza, then, in a state of desperation, invoked the aid of 'Abdulla. This frightened Shahrukh who immediately came to terms with his grandfather.

To revert to the Persian affair, 'Abdulla sent another ambassador, 'Abdur Rahim, who arrived in India in 1577. This time, the court-historian states that he brought a proposal for the partition of Persia between the two monarchs. Strangely enough this time Mirza Fulad led the Mughal embassy for a return call, though he was instructed to acquaint the Uzbeg ruler with the Emperor's flat refusal to listen to any such move. Politics, as in many other cases, was here, too, made subservient to religion and 'Abdulla was informed that the Persian king being connected with the Holy Prophet, action against Persia was nothing short of a sacrilege. Such an object of reverence had the Persian king become with the Mughal Emperor that 'Abdulla was even reprimanded for referring to him lightly in his correspondence.

Abul Fazl did not unravel the mystery which surrounds the whole episode. It would have been in the fitness of things for Akbar to follow the precedent set already. The despatch of a Mughal embassy could serve no useful purpose when the Emperor was averse to entertain any scheme for the division of the Safavi kingdom. The real object, however, came to light when the changed situation was taken into account. Akbar, who thoroughly understood 'Abdulla's mind, anticipated real danger to Badakhshan. In view of it he actually collected an army under Yusuf Khan, Sa'id Khan, and Raja Bhagwan Das to be sent for the assistance of Shahrukh. He did not see any harm in informing 'Abdulla about this affair, using diplomacy before resorting to arms. The ambassadors were to open negotiation regarding Badakhshan and also to learn the motive of the Uzbeg monarch.

Akbar's keen interest in the affairs of Badakhshan, forced 'Abdulla to take immediate action. Not letting the grass grow under his feet, 'Abdulla pounced upon the small kingdom and devoured it without much ado.[2] The unfortunate Sulaiman and Shahrukh were thus turned adrift and both of them came to the Mughal court in the hope of getting support from the Emperor.

Alarmed at 'Abdulla's advance in Badakhshan Mirza Hakim too, consequently sent an ambassador to Akbar to solicit his assistance. The Emperor's response was quick and he was assured that an attack on Kabul would be resisted by an army led by one of the princes. To convince 'Abdulla of the sincerity of his offer of help to Mirza Hakim, Akbar himself

1. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, 423.
2. *Ibid.*, 652.

arrived in the Punjab in 1585.[1] In spite of the assertion of Abul Fazl that the Emperor's object was to quell the rebellion and end the strife by a tour through the province, it was evident that it was 'Abdulla's ambition which had drawn the Emperor to those regions. Not only was Kabul seriously threatened by the Uzbeg advance, but the Persian kingdom too had come in the orbit of danger owing to his recent success. 'Abdulla would move heaven and earth to attain his second objective. To checkmate the designs of the Uzbeg monarch and also to conquer Kashmir and Thatta, the Emperor's presence in the Punjab was an unavoidable necessity.

'Abdulla in the meantime had not remained passive. Failing in his attempt to persuade Akbar to his own point of view he was employing other means to accomplish his object. His purpose was to create trouble within the Mughal Empire itself, so that Akbar's energy might be diverted to that region to give the Uzbeg monarch a free hand to deal with Persia. In the hour of necessity he, too, looked to the tribesmen to assist him, and financially supported their leader Jalal Roshania to set the revolt agoing. Besides, his party, under Faridun[2] was working in Kabul to undermine the influence of the Mughal Emperor in that region.

The death of Mirza Hakim in July, 1585 afforded Faridun an opportunity to set his machinery in motion. With the purpose of creating bad blood between the Emperor and the family members of Mirza Hakim, he attempted to detain at Kabul his two sons as well as the two sons of Shahrukh whom Mirza Hakim on his death-bed had directed to the Emperor. He argued that the Mughal Emperor, well aware of the seditious nature of the Mirzas, would punish their sons. But Akbar was too cautious to allow such things to happen on the very frontiers of the empire. He took immediate measures to prevent the plot. First came Wali Beg Zulqadar and Fathulla to disburden the Mirzas of any doubt regarding the Emperor's generous intention towards them. The final scene of the drama was enacted by Man Singh, who took charge of the administration, sent Mirza's children to Delhi, and threw Faridun into prison.[3]

In March, 1586 'Abdulla again contacted the Mughal Emperor through his ambassador Mir Quraish.[4] This new move on the part of the Uzbeg monarch was explained by the court-historian as due to apprehension created in 'Abdulla's mind by the presence of the Emperor in the Punjab, his designs against Transoxiana and the construction of bridges on the Indus together with other preparations. This is an explanation no doubt, but only a partial one. For the rest we have to look elsewhere. 'Abdulla's attempt to confine the Emperor's activity to the Empire by creating trouble had failed. Jalal Roshania could only be a source of nuisance to the Mughal Emperor and nothing more, and the success in Kabul

1. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, 702.
2. *Ibid.*, 702.
3. *Ibid.*, 702/9.
4. *Ibid.*, 721.

was short-lived. Besides, the incorporation of Kabul in the Mughal Empire had entirely changed the situation. In the past 'Abdulla could lead the invading armies to Persia without the fear of being attacked from the rear, due to the unwillingness of Mirza Hakim to allow the Mughal armies to pass through his territory. But the death of that prince had removed this impediment from the path of the Emperor. To crown all, the information that Shah 'Abbas had sent an envoy to seek Akbar's support would have unnerved 'Abdulla completely. That Persia could not be conquered without the good-will of the Emperor had now become a certainty. Hence the new approach.

Like many other documents of this period the letter which the ambassador carried was lost to oblivion. Nevertheless the reply sent by the Indian Emperor incidentally referred to some of the points stressed in it. The Uzbeg monarch attributed discontinuance of correspondence with India to the Emperor's heresy and his preoccupation with wars. He also justified his conquest of Badakhshan on the plea of Shahrukh's insolence.

In August, 1586 Mir Quraish returned to his country. The Emperor despatched Hakim Humam and Sadr Jahan to the Uzbeg court, the former as the Mughal envoy and the latter commissioned specially to convey the Emperor's condolence to 'Abdulla on the death of his father.

The Emperor's letter* to 'Abdulla is significant and calls for critical analysis.

The opening sentences concerned the duties of a king which guided Akbar in his day-to-day administration. It held out a noble conception of kingship. According to it, the crown was not a mere ornament to be gloried and enjoyed. It entailed great responsibilities to the people in all spheres of life. Next followed a refutation of the charge of heresy levelled against the Emperor by the Uzbeg monarch. The Emperor gave a long explanation. That he was a Muslim was an established truth. The misunderstanding arose from the fact that he undertook to decide the religious points on which the *ulema* disagreed. To show his further zeal for Islam, the Emperor referred to his intention of punishing the *firangis* who had harassed the pilgrims to Mecca.

The Emperor then, referred to the Persian question and the peril to its ruler. Not only that some of his own officers had revolted but the Sultan of Turkey, too, at this unfortunate moment, had contemplated an attack on him. The latter being descended from the Holy Prophet, the Emperor thought it his bounden duty to assist him especially when he had solicited his support.

In the closing sentence the Emperor alluded to Badakhshan. To the Uzbeg monarch's justification for incorporating Badakhshan, the Emperor had nothing to say, but he could not agree with 'Abdulla to refuse him shelter when Shahrukh repented for his past conduct.

The letter was silent on the division of Persia. There were, however,

*. Vide *Ruqqat-i-Abul Fazl*.

unassailable facts to prove that an agreement was arrived at on this issue.* Abul Fazl, in one of his letters to Hakim, said " His Majesty has turned his attention to the conquest of Turan but is prepared to change the course of his conquest towards the island of Farang if a satisfactory treaty is forthcoming." In addition to this *Akbarnama* contained the following remarks in connection with Hakim Humam's return—" We conveyed the praise and supplication of the ruler of Turan who represented that the conquest of Herat and Khorasan was due to the blessed influence of the world Lord." 'Abdul Mumin in his letter to Murad III also referred to this friendship. ' The Padshah of India has strengthened the bonds of friendship with this significant House by sending Hakim Humam, one of his chosen courtiers, with presents, gifts and loving letter and has formed an alliance.' Imam Quli in his letter to Jahangir says, "As between the noble kings—dwellers of Paradise—'Abdulla Khan and Akbar Padshah—an alliance for the conquest of the road to the holy places had occurred—due to the religious alliance and unity between the sovereigns, a great portion of Iraq and Persia and whole of Khorasan were conquered."

The terms of the treaty were deliberately kept a secret by the two monarchs. The above statements however, provided a few openings to the mystery which surrounded the whole transaction. 'Abdulla appeared to have pointed out to Akbar the desirability of waging a religious war against the Shia heretics of Persia, who interfered with the Sunnis on their way to Mecca. Akbar, in reply, referred to the age-long alliance between the rulers of Persia and India and the Shah's connection with the Holy Prophet. These facts stood against any attempt towards extinction of Persia. The Emperor however intended to seize Qandahar and would not be averse to the Uzbeg monarch's seizing some of the northern provinces of Persia. For the rest, the best course for the two monarchs would be to meet in Khorasan and find a way to assist Shah 'Abbas to establish himself in Persia.

Hakim Humam returned from Turan in 1589. 'Abdulla, in his letter, attributed the occupation of Herat and the conquest of Khorasan to the blessed influence of his devotion to the Mughal Emperor and informed him that he was sending Ahmad 'Ali Ataliq and Mir Sadr Jahan as his envoys to the Mughal court.

'Abdulla's acquiescence in Akbar's proposals might appear strange at first sight, but a close study of the situation would reveal the wisdom of such an attitude. The young Shah 'Abbas was growing in power and prestige every day. Endowed with a fiery imagination and a thirst for power, he would stop at nothing short of an attempt to add Transoxiana to his own kingdom. With this ambitious end in view, he contacted the Sultan of Turkey for peace, and solicited Akbar's support in the great task. This should have naturally revived Akbar's old dream of possessing his

* *Islamic Culture*, 1937, p. 88.

ancestral land. Weakened by growing old age, with a son whose fealty was doubtful, it would not be possible for 'Abdulla to stand against this combination. Hence this marks the beginning of a new trend in Indo-Turanian policy. 'Abdulla henceforward became humble and the Indian monarch aggressive.

This very year Muhammad Zaman declared himself son of Shahrukh and raised the standard of revolt.[1] He approached the Emperor for assistance but the latter informed him that he had made peace with the Uzbegs and could not wage war against them. Mohammad Zaman was asked to come to the court but he refused. He continued the struggle against the Uzbegs and defeated 'Abdul Mumin in the following year.

'Abdul Mumin's envoy[2] who was coming to India in 1590 met with a premature death in the Jhelum. In this way neither the object of 'Abdul Mumin in contacting the Emperor nor the contents of his letter even saw the light of the day. Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq 'Ali, in his commentary of the *Akbarnama* observed that Akbar had the envoy drowned as he was bearing 'Abdul Mumin's proposal to marry Akbar's daughter. What made Ṣādiq 'Ali to hold this view is difficult to guess, contemporary historians being generally silent on the matter. *Iqbalnama* simply mentioned that the letter contained certain improper allegations whereas Abul Fazl referred to a rumour that 'Abdul Mumin had demanded the surrender of the Badakhshani Aimaqs who were given refuge at court. In the absence of precise facts, the only thing that is certain is that the letter contained some impudent remarks. The hot-headed 'Abdul Mumin suspected Akbar's hand in the activities of Muhammad Zaman and this naturally enraged him. Akbar's offer of shelter to the Badakhshani Aimaqs only increased his indignation. In the circumstances it was not improbable that he demanded the hand of Akbar's daughter to insult him. But the allegation that the Emperor had the envoy drowned is on the face of it, incredible. In view of the Emperor's nature and the exigencies of the moment this allegation does not appear plausible.

Hardly had the people stopped discussing this event, when Moulvi Ḥusaini arrived at the Mughal court as an envoy from 'Abdulla Khan.[3] The fact that Shah 'Abbas had entered into an agreement with Turkey and solicited the Mughal Emperor's assistance in a joint action against Turan had very much alarmed 'Abdulla. The Uzbeg monarch also realised that impudence of his hot-headed son would only add fuel to the fire. Moulvi Ḥusaini was despatched to calm down the Emperor and counteract the move of the Shah of Persia. In his letter 'Abdulla revealed to the Emperor that the latter's presence in the Punjab had created apprehensions in his mind regarding his intentions and suggested that the Hindukush be recognised as the boundary-line between the two kingdoms.

1. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, 864.
2. *Ibid.*, 876.
3. *Ibid.*, 885.

As Moulvi Ḥusaini died at Lahore in 1592, his family and household effects were sent to his native country. In April, 1594, two years later, 'Abdulla, it appears, repeated the former request through Mulk Saleh Bokhari. Akbar could now sense the weakness of his contemporary and henceforward it was the Mughal Emperor who gained an upper hand in the game of diplomacy as well as in the field of war. Qandahar having fallen, Zamindawar and Garmsir were wrested from the Uzbegs and when the latter tried to recover their lost possessions they were defeated and repulsed.[1]

Ashraf Naqshbandi[2] was associated with Sultan Ḥusaini of Lucknow and a friendly letter was addressed to 'Abdulla. Its principal points were as follows :—

(*i*) Akbar pointed out that his activities were never unfriendly towards 'Abdulla and to prove this contention he cited various examples :—(*a*) When Shah 'Abbas sent Yadgar Sultan Shamlu asking for assistance he was refused. (*b*) Shahrukh's request that he should be given jagir in Kabul, Kashmir, Bajaur or Tirah was turned down as the said territories lay in the neighbourhood of 'Abdulla Khan's dominion. (*c*) Qandahar was captured so that the Turanians, under the wrong belief that it was a Persian possession, might not try to annex it. (*d*) A pretender in Badakhshan proclaiming himself son of Shahrukh solicited his assistance, which was not given.

(*ii*) To clear 'Abdulla's doubt regarding the Emperor's intentions, he was informed that the Emperor and his entourage would shortly leave the Punjab.

(*iii*) The Emperor could not grant 'Abdulla's request to refuse shelter to Shahrukh because he had repented for his impudence.

(*iv*) In reply to 'Abdulla's request to Akbar to forgive his son, the Emperor graciously remarked that as he considered Mumin as his nephew the question did not arise.

Khwaja Ashraf and Sultan Ḥusain had an audience with 'Abdulla on 9th September, 1597, at Kursi. 'Abdulla deputed Mir Quraish to accompany the Mughal envoy back to India, but when they approached Herat the Uzbeg monarch died. The two ambassadors continued their journey to Qandahar where Mir Quraish parted company.

The death of 'Abdulla was followed by chaos and confusion in Turan. 'Abdul Mumin succeeded his father, but his reign was short-lived. His tyranny spurred a group of nobles to action who gave him a short shift. In its wake came full-blooded civil war which sapped the vitality of the empire created by 'Abdulla.

The news of 'Abdulla's death and 'Abdul Mumin's misrule percolated into India. Akbar was advised by his councillors to proceed to Turan, but he preferred to conquer the Deccan first. He, however, consulted his

1. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, 1027.
2. *Ibid.*, 1052.

sons if they would like to go to that country, and when he saw that they were not very eager he gave up the idea. The death of Akbar in 1605 closed this chapter of Indo-Turanian relation.

It will not be out of place here to estimate the success which each of the two Emperors achieved. 'Abdulla incorporated Badakhshan in his empire but failed to conquer Persia. Akbar succeeded in saving that kingdom from the grips of 'Abdulla, but his dream of a Mughal empire in Turan could not be realised and he left it to his successors.

RAMESH CHANDRA VARMA.

THE TERM QONALGHA (قنلغه) AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

"THE term *Qonalgha* occurs frequently in the Mughal *firmāns*. What is its exact significance ?" This question has been put to me by two different friends, one in Allahabad and the other in Guzerat ; and as it is of general interest, the attempted answer is given here, in order to invite further elucidation from Turkī scholars.

The word belongs to Chaghatā'ī Turkī, and occurs, apart from the *Maḥbūb al-Qulūb* of Amīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī (d. 906 A.H.), quoted below, at least twice in the *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburi* (Turkī original), under the year 935 A.H. in the following passages :—

(*i*) In a letter addressed to Khwāja Kalān, who was in Kābul, Bābur specifies things which must be done there. One of these is :

ینه کیلور بارور ایلچی بواسه اینیك علوفه و قنلغه سی

(*Babur-Nameh*, ed. Ilminski, p. 464).

(*ii*) In another passage, Bābur says :—

طاهر نی اکره کا ییبار یلدی کا بلدین کیلادور کا نلار کا قونالغه یوسونلوق انعام بولغان یار ماقلارنی براتینی الیب باردی

(*Ibid.*, p. 472).

The term in question has not been rendered by Mirza 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān in the Persian version of the *Waqā'i'*. In the first passage, the word is reproduced defectively as قلغه in the Punjab University Library manuscript[1] of the *Waqā'i'*, f. 248 a, where the letter of Bābur in which the word occurs is quoted in full in the original Turkī, though the letter is omitted in the lithographed Bombay edition of 1308 A.H. (see p. 233, 1.7). In the second passage also (same MS. f. 252 a), the word is left untranslated thus :—

طاهر را باکره فرستاده شد بکابل آمدکان زرهای که بطریق قونالغه انعام شده بود براث انهارا کرفته رفت ،

1. This excellent copy was transcribed in 1021 A.H. in Delhi and is contemporary with the translator of the *Waqā'i'-i-Bāburi* (Abdur-Raḥīm Khān-i- Khānān died in 1036 A.H.).

2. The lithographed edition, p. 235 gives the corrupt form قومالغه instead.

Pavet de Courteille (*Mémoires de Baber, ii,* 388) has rendered قنلغه in the first passage as " frais de séjour " (cost of lodging), and in the second (*ii,* 402) as " indemnite " (indemnity). Both these meanings are given to s. v. قونالغه by the same author in his *Dictionnaire Turk-Oriental,* with passage (*ii*) as *shāhid.*

The above two passages are rendered as follows by Mrs. Beveridge:

(*i*) " again :— the daily allowance and lodging of envoys going backwards and forwards." (*The Memoirs of Babur,* p. 646).

(*ii*) " Ṭāhir (was) started from Agra. . . . taking money-drafts for the customary gifts of allowance and lodging to those on their way from Kābul." (*Ibid.,* p. 658.)

Mrs. Beveridge has obviously taken قنلغه or قونالغه to mean in both passages expenses incurred by a traveller for lodging.

Qonalgha (قنلغه) is included in the list of about forty miscellaneous cesses, which, according to the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* (ed. Blochmann, p. 301), Akbar had remitted. قنلغه is given there in a footnote as a variant from the Delhi lithographed edition of the *Ā'īn,* but that form is certainly wrong.[1] Due, however, to the uncertainty of its reading to him Blochmann had adopted the form قنلغه in his text with a query mark, which mark Jarrett repeated in his translation of the *Ā'īn* (ii, p. 67 note), adding in a note that he could not trace this doubtful word.

The earliest land-grant *firmān* of Akbar available to me, which has the term in the form قنلغه (written in the *firmān* defectively as قنله), is dated in the last month (Isfandārmadh) of the 40th regnal year of Akbar where the cess is included in the list of the cesses of which the particular land-grant was declared free, and which were not to be levied (being ابواب ممنوعه). The passage in which it occurs is as follows (the dots occur only rarely) :—

سیل حکام وعمال وکروریان وحایکر داران حال و استقبال آن محال .... لعلب مال وجهات واخراجات وسایر جهات مثل قنلغه و نشکس وجرسانه و ضابطانه و مهرانه ودارو غکانه ومحصلانه ده بهم وصد دو می وقانون کومی و تکرار زراعت وترکاری وزکوه الجمعی(؟) و ضبط رساله بعد از شخصص چك وکل تکالیف دوانی وجمیع اخراجات سلطانی مراجب برسانند[2]

1. The word is distinctly pointed as قنلغه in a *firmān* of Aurangzeb which I have before me.

2. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXI (1904), photo-litho facing p. 68. Such formula seems to have come to the Moghal court from Persia. Cf. the following extracts from the *nishans* of the Court of Abul Ghārī Sulṭān Ḥusain-i-Bāqara (r. 878-912) given in the *Munsha'āt* of 'Abdallāh-i-Marwārīd (Punjab University MS.): از مال وجهات و سایر متو جهات وکل تکالیف دیوانی معاف ومرفوع القلم دانسة اصلا چیزی حواله ندارند و متعرض نشوند (f. 39 a.) و از نهر مذکور مال و اخراجات از دار وغکان (read دار وغکانه) و در بسته وزکواة و پانی گاوانه و ضابطانه و مخصصانه ومحصلانه و حق الا وارجه و مشرفانه و غیر ذلك تطلبند و نستانند وکماشتکان امور دیوانی و ناظمان

Exactly the same formula (from بعلت مال to نرسانند) is repeated in a second land-grant *firmān* of Akbar issued in the 48th regnal year, except that in it قلعه is written instead of قلغه of the previous *firmān* (J.R.A.S.B. loc. cit.). In the following reigns this formula becomes the standard formula which, with only slight additions and omissions, occurs in the *firmāns* of the 11th and the early 12th centuries (See Mawlwī Bashīr Aḥmad's *Farāmin-i-Salāṭin*[1] pp. 16, 32, 41, 45 sq., 48 sqq., 61, 64, 75 and 108, where however the editor has always erroneously written قتلغه , probably following the above-mentioned Delhi lithographed edition of the *Ā'īn*).

The following extracts from two land-grant *firmāns*[2] of (*a*) Shāh Jahān and (*b*) Aurangzeb, dated respectively in 1048 A.H. and 1078 A.H. (the original has instead : the 11th regnal year), which I have before me, would show how the formula used in Akbar's *firmāns* was being repeated in those of the subsequent reigns. The relevant passage in Shāh Jahān's *firmān* is as follows (copied as in the original) : —[3]

وبعلت مالو جهات واخراجات مثل قلغه وپشکش وجریبانه وضابطانه و محصلانه و مهرانه وداروغکانه و سکاروشکارو ده نیمی ومقدمی وصد دویئی وقانون کوئی وضبط هر سپاله وتکرارزراعت وکل تکالیف دیوانے ومطالبات سلطانے نمزاحمت نرسانند[3]

اعمال سلطانی اصلا پیرامون نکردند . . . . وکاشتکان ایشان در انجا مدخل نکنند و ده یازده رسم الصداره و ده نیم حق التولیه نطلبند و نستانند (f. 17a) سبیل فرزندان کامکار و امرای نامدار و صدور عظام و وزرای ذوی الاحترام و باقی متصدیان امور ازمتولیان و مباشران امور اوقاف سلطانی انکه در تمشیت امر مذکور و تقویت معتمد مشار الیه اهتمام بجای آورند (f. 29a)

In a *firmān* dated A.H. 893 of Sulṭān Ya'qūb (r. 884-896 A.H.) of the Aq Qoyunter Turkomāns of Adharbāijān occurs the following :—

رقبات و جهات مذکور . . . . . برمدرسه مذکوره جزء معاف و مسلم و مرفوع القلم دانند و بعلت مال و منال و تمار و خراج و مواشی ومراعی و وجوه العین و جهات و پیشکش جمعی وغیر جمعی و دو شلك چکمی و استصوابی و خمار جیات جمعی و سهامی و خارج سالیانه و رسوم داروغکی و چریك شیلان بها و حق التقریر و وجوه عملداری و رسم الحمایة وساوری وسایر تکالیف دیوانی بهر اسم و رسم که باشد و تفاوت و باز دید و حرز و مساحت و شماره و تعدیل و طرح و بیکار و غیر ذلك متعرض . . . . . نشوند و تعرض نرسانند و مطالبه ننمایند ' (*Fāris Nāmah-i-Nāṣīri*, Vol., I., 82)

1. On pp. 81 and 100 of this work, two *firmāns* of Aurangzeb are given which omit all reference to *qonalgha*.

2. Both documents are beautifully written, but Aurangzeb's is in a larger hand and is more carefully dotted.

3. Apparently such formula had come down to the Mughal Court from earlier times. A *nishān* of Sulṭān Ḥusain-i-Bāyqarā of Herāt reads as follows :

مال و اخراجات از داروغکان و دربسته وزکواة و پای گاوانه و ضابطانه و مخصصانه و محصلانه و حق الارجه ومشرفانه وغیر ذالك نطلبند و نستانند وده یازده رسم الصدارة وده نیم حق التولیه نطلبند و نستانند (*Tarassulat 'Abdullah-i-Marwārid*, Punjab University MS. f. 17a).

The relevant passage in Aurangzeb's *firmān* reads as follows :—

وبعلت مالو جهات و اخراجات مثل قلغه و پیشکش و جریبانه وضابطانه ومحصلانه
و مهرانه وداروغگانه وپکاروشکارو ده نیمی و مقدمی وصد دولی (و) قانونکولی وضبط
رساله بعد ازتشخیص چك وتکرارزراعت وکل تکالیف دیوانی ومطالبات سلطانی
مزاحمت نرسانند،

Thus قلغه is always included among the ابواب ممنوعه originating from Akbar, and is preceded by such words as سائر جهات or سائر اخراجات or اخراجات وعوارضات or simply اخراجات.

The terms مال و جهات وسائر جهات have been explained in the *Ā'īn* (ed. Blochmann, p. 294) thus :

آنچه بر اراضی مزروعی ازراه ریع قرار یابد آنرا مال گویند وازانواع محترفه
گزیده جهات خوانند وباقی راسائر جهات،

We can see from this explanation that *qonalgha* was one of the miscellaneous imposts, other than land revenue and the tax on selected handicraftsmen. This is, however, only a negative explanation, an indication of what it was not. As to what it was, its various meanings, the following explanation of the word given in the *Nūr al-Abṣār** (my copy, folio 316 b.) is helpful. It says :—

قونارغه وقونالغه بضم اول و فتحه ثانی وسکون رای مهمله ودوم بلام ساکنه وغین معجمه
مفتوحه: روزینه امیر نوائی درمحبوب القلوب بذکر صیاد گوید بیت -

قونالغه آلیب قایدا قویسادرم آتی سی ارپه و قوشی طعمه هم

وخوراکی که آدم از رعیت می گیرد ، ومایه شیر ، وظرف دوغ وجغرات ،

In the same work on f. 415 b, we have :

قونارغه وقونالغه : روزینه وخوراکی که آدم حاکم از رعیت می گیرد ،

Thus we see that the term *qonalgha, qonlāgha, qonalqa* or *qonārgha*—various forms of the same word, means in Nawā'ī's *Maḥbūb al-Qulūb* " daily allowance," in the *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburi* " daily allowance or lodging allowance given to envoys," and in the *firmāns* of Indian Mughals " diet obtained by officers from the ryots."

MOḤAMMAD SHAFI'.

* This is a grammar and vocabulary of Turkī, compiled by Rāy Dhan Singh (with Kāshi as his takhallus), son of Rāy Birbal Kāyasth Asthāna (?) of Malānwa (ملانوه), Malāwa of the Ā'in (Jarrett'e translation, ii, 94, 179), in the Sirkār of Lucknow. He compiled the work, as stated by him, for Rāja Ajīt Singh (d. 1775 A.C.) grandson of Rāja Balrām of Ballamgadh (see Gazetteer of the Delhi District, Lahore, 1913, Part A, p. 228 sq.), in the reign of Shāh 'Ālam II. The work was completed with the assistance of Sheikh Ḥayāt 'Alī, who is apparently identical with Mawlawī Ḥayāt 'Alī of the *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawisān*, who was, according to that work, " peerless in the knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Turki. " My copy (ff. 472, size 11½ 7½ , ll. 16) was transcribed in 1195 A.H. The work is divided into four parts, each called اشعه , *viz.* i (f. 1) در بیان علم صرف ونحو ; ii (f. 47) در بیان اوامی ; iii (f. 195) در بیان اسمای جوامد iv. a (f. 376) در کار خانجات ; iv. b (f. 454) در بیان مسائل The Punjab University Library, also has a copy, containing only اشعه اول و دوم..

DEVIL'S DELUSION

(*TALBĪS-IBLĪS* OF ABU'L-FARAJ IBN AL-JAWZĪ)

(*Continued from Islamic Culture, April* 1947, *p.* 183).

ACCOUNT OF THE WAY WHEREIN THE DEVIL DELUDES THEM IN THE MATTER OF EXTRAVAGANT SAYING AND PRETENSIONS*

YOU should know that knowledge produces fear, self-abasement, and protracted silence. If you consider the learned of old time, you find that they are mastered by fear and clear of pretensions. So Abū Bakr said : Would that I were a hair on a Believer's chest ! 'Umar, when dying, said : Woe to 'Umar if he be not pardoned ! Ibn Mas'ūd said : Would that when I die I might not be raised again to life ! 'Ā'ishah said : (XIX, 23) *Would that I were a thing of naught, forgotten* ! When Sufyān ath-Thaurī was dying he said to Ḥammād b. Salāmah : Do you hope that one like me may be pardoned ?

Now, I would observe, such utterances as these proceeded from these exalted persons only out of their profound knowledge of God, inasmuch as such knowledge produces fear and awe. God says (XXXV, 28) : *God is feared by only the learned among His servants.* The Prophet said : I know God more than all of you and fear Him more than all of you. Now certain Ṣūfīs, being far removed from knowledge, observing some of their own actions, and finding that some of them had experienced mercies resembling spontaneous miracles, made vast claims. We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir, the Ḥāfiẓ, a tradition going back to Abū Mūsā aḍ-Ḍiyālī, according to which the latter said : I heard Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī say : I would that Resurrection-day had arrived that I might pitch my tent over Gehenna ; being asked by someone, Why, he replied : I know that if Gehenna were to see me, it would cool down, so that I should be a mercy to creation. We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabīb al-'Āmirī a tradition going back to Abū Mūsā ash-Shiblī according to which the latter said : I heard Abū Yazīd say : Were Resurrection-day to arrive, and the people of Paradise were to be taken into Paradise and the people of Hell into Hell, I should ask to be taken into Hell. Being asked, Why, he replied : That all creatures might know that His bounty and His grace are with His saints in Hell.

This language, I would observe, is most improper, since it involves contempt for that Hell of which God makes so much, describing it with so much force, when He says (II, 22) *Beware of Hell-fire, whose fuel is men and stones,* and (XXV, 12) *When it seeth them from afar, they hear the*

* Continued from p. 364 of the Arabic text.

crackling and the roar thereof, etc. Further we have been told by 'Abd al-Awwal a tradition going back to Abū Hurairah, according to which the Prophet said :[1] This fire of yours which men kindle is one-seventieth part of the heat of Gehenna. The Companions said : By Allāh that is assuredly sufficient, O Apostle of God. He said : Verily it exceeds it by 69 parts, each of them equal to the one part. This is quoted in both *Ṣaḥīḥ*. And among the traditions peculiar to Muslim is one of Ibn Mas'ūd according to whom the Prophet said :[2] On that day Gehenna shall be brought having 70,000 reins, seventy thousand angels pulling each rein.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a tradition going back to Ka'b according to which 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to him : Ka'b, frighten us. He said : Prince of Believers, do what a man can do. If you were to bring to the Resurrection the works of seventy prophets, you would despise your performance in consideration of what you saw. 'Umar hung his head for a time, and presently raising it, asked for more. Ka'b said : Prince of Believers, if as much of Gehenna were opened as an ox's nostril in the East, the brain of a man in the West would boil till it melted from the heat. Again, 'Umar hung his head, and presently raising it, asked for more. Ka'b said : Prince of Believers, on Resurrection-day Gehenna will give forth such a roaring that neither angel in proximity (to the Throne) nor chosen prophet will be left who does not fall upon his knees saying, Lord, my soul, my soul, I ask thee this day for naught but my soul.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī a tradition going back to Zadhan,[3] according to which the latter said : I heard Ka'b of the Doctors[4] say : When Resurrection-day arrives, God will assemble the first and the last on one plot of ground, the angels will descend and form rows, and God will say : Gabriel, bring me Gehenna. Gabriel will bring it, drawn by seventy thousand reins, till it gets to a distance of a hundred years' journey from the creatures, when it will send forth a roaring which will cause the hearts of the creatures to fly, then a second, at which no angel in proximity nor commissioned prophet will be left who does not fall upon his knees, then a third, at which hearts will rise to the larynxes, minds will be dazed, and each man will have recourse to his work ;[5] even Abraham the Friend will say : By my friendship I ask Thee naught save my soul, Moses will say : By my communing with Thee I ask Thee naught save my soul, Jesus will say : By the honour which Thou didst show me I ask Thee naught save my soul, not even Mary my mother.

Further, I would observe, it has been recorded that the Prophet said : Why, Gabriel, do I never see Michael smile ? Michael, he replied, has

1. The tradition is cited by the author from Bukhārī, but is found in Muslim, Cairo, 1290, II, 352,
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. Died 82. Notice of him in the *Tahdhīb*, III, 302.
4. Ibn Mathi' al-Ḥimyarī, died 32 or 34. Notice of him, *ibid.*, VIII, 438.
5. Apparently the meaning is : appeal to something in his life.

not smiled since Hell-fire was created, neither has my eye been dry since Gehenna was created, for fear that I might disobey God and be put therein by Him.

One day 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah[1] was weeping and his wife asked him why he wept. I have been told, he replied, that I am to go down, but have not been told that I shall come up.

Now if, I would observe, this is the case with the angels, the Prophets, and the Companions, who are cleansed from all defilement; if they are so terrified by Hell-fire, how comes it that this pretender thinks so little of it? Further, he is confident of things about which he has no knowledge, his own sainthood and salvation, whereas only certain special persons among the Companions have been assured thereof. Yet the Prophet said: Whoso says "I am in Paradise" is in Hell. And here is Muḥammad b. Wasi'[2] saying when about to die: My brothers, know ye whither I shall be carried? By God, than Whom there is no other god, I shall be carried to Hell, unless He forgive me.

If then the anecdote narrated of this pretender be true, it is an extreme case of "the devil's delusion." Ibn 'Uqail used to say: It is recorded that Abū Yazīd said: Now what *is* Hell? By Allāh, were I to see it, I would extinguish it with a piece of my patched cloak! or something of the sort. Now a person who says this, be he who he may, is an atheist, who ought to be executed; for contempt of a thing proceeds from denial of it: so one who believes in the Jinn feels horror in the dark, whereas one who does not believe in them feels no alarm, and may even dare the Jinn to capture him. When a man says anything of this kind he should have a lighted candle applied to his face. When he shudders, he should be told that is a torch from the fire of Hell.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a tradition going back to the younger Taifūr[3] according to which the latter said: I heard my uncle, who was Abū Yazīd's servant, say: I heard Abū Yazīd saying: Glory unto me, glory unto me, how grand is my dignity! He then proceeded to say: My self is sufficient, sufficient, for me!

If, I would observe, this be true, it is possible that the transmitter misunderstood, since we may suppose that Abū Yazīd was citing what the Deity said of Himself, the words Glory unto Me referring to God, not to Abū Yazīd himself. Junaid explained the words away with something which resolves itself into what I have said, or else is meaningless.[4]

We have been told by Ibn Nāṣir a tradition going back to Ja'far al-Khuldī, according to which the latter said: Junaid, being told how Abū

1. A Medinese convert, who fought at Badr, and died at Mūtah in the year 8. Notice of him in the *Iṣābah*, Cairo, 1325, IV. 66, and elsewhere.

2. An ascetic who died in 120. The story is told by Ibn Sa'd, VII, II, 11, with some slight differences.

3. A later ascetic, also from Bisṭam, with *kunyah* Abū Yazīd.

4. In *Lisān al-Mīzān* (III-215) the words are supposed to have been said in a state of spiritual intoxication.

Yazīd was in the habit of saying, Glory unto me, glory unto me, I am my Lord Most High, said: The man is absorbed in the presence of the divine majesty and utters that which absorbs him. The Deity has dazzled him so that he cannot see Him; he is conscious only of the Deity whom he describes. This, too, I would observe, is a piece of nonsense.

We have been told by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Kirmānī a tradition going back to 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī aṣ-Ṣarrāj,[1] according to which the latter said: I heard Aḥmad b. Salīm al-Baṣrī in Baṣra say one day in his lecture: Pharaoh never said what Abū Yazīd said. Pharaoh said (LXXXIX, 24) *I am your most high lord*; now a creature may be called "lord," *e.g.*, lord of the dwelling; whereas Abū Yazīd said, Glory unto me, which may only be said by God. I asked him whether he was certain Abū Yazīd had said this. He replied that he was. I said that it might be supposed that this saying had been preceded by certain words showing that he was narrating how God said, Glory unto me! For if we heard a man say, (XVI, 2, etc.), *There is no god save Me*, we should know that he was reciting the Qur'ān. Moreover, I asked many of the members of Abū Yazīd's family in Bisṭām about this matter, and they declared themselves ignorant of it.[2]

We have been told by Ibn Nāṣir a tradition going back to Abū Mūsā aḍ-Ḍi'lī, according to which the latter said: I heard Abū Yazīd say: I was making the circuit of the House,[3] searching for it, and when I reached it, I saw the House circling round me.

Ash-Shīrāzī (one of the transmitters of the above) also records a tradition going back to Taifūr. the younger, according to which the latter said: I heard Abū Yazīd say: The first time I made the pilgrimage I saw the House; the second time I saw the Lord of the House, and not the House; the third time I saw neither the House nor its Lord.

Ash-Shīrāzī added another tradition also going back to Abū Mūsā aḍ-Ḍi'lī, according to which the latter said: I heard Abū Yazīd say, when asked about the Guarded Tablet, (LXXXV, 22): I am the Guarded Tablet. He adduced yet another tradition going back to the same Abū Mūsā according to which the latter said: I said to Abū Yazīd that it had come to me that there are three whose hearts are on Gabriel's heart. He said: I am the three. How so? I asked. He replied: My heart is one, my thought one, and my spirit one. It has also come to me, I said, that there is one whose heart is on Isrāfīl's heart. I, he replied, am that one. I am like an all-devouring sea, without beginning or end.[4]

Ash-Shulukī says: A man recited before Abū Yazīd the text, (LXXXV, 12): *Verily thy Lord's vehemence is severe*; Abū Yazīd said: By His life my vehemence is severer than His. Someone said to Abū

1. This is from the *Luma'*, p. 390.
2. The author has abridged the passage in the *Luma'*, to the disadvantage of the syntax.
3. The Ka'bah.
4. Similar assertions of Abū Yazīd are given in *Tadhkirat al-Auliya*, ed. Nicholson, I, 171.

Yazīd: I am told that you are one of the seven. He said: I am *all* the Seven. Someone said to him: Verily all creatures are under the banner of our lord, Muḥammad. By Allāh, he replied, my banner is mightier than Muḥammad's. My banner is of light, beneath which are all Jinn and mankind, including the prophets. He also said: Glory unto me, glory unto me, how vast is my realm! The like of me is not to be found in heaven, neither is there any known figure on earth. I am He, He is I, and He is He.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī a tradition going back to Manṣūr b. 'Abdallāh, according to which the father of the latter said: Someone said to Abū Yazīd: You are one of the seven *Abdāl* who are the tent-pegs of the earth. I, he said, am all seven!

We have been told by Ibn Nāṣir a tradition going back to al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Salam according to which the latter said: Abū Yazīd entered a city and being followed by a crowd, turning to them, said: I am God, there is no god save me, so worship me. They supposed him to be mad and let him alone.

Al-Fārisī (Abu'l-Ḥusain Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, one of the transmitters of the last tradition) adds a tradition going back to Mūsā b. 'Īsā, nephew of Abū Yazīd, according to which the latter said: I heard my father say: Abū Yazīd said: Once I was taken up and stood before Him, and He said to me: Abū Yazīd, My creatures would fain see thee. I too, my Beloved, I said, would wish them to see me. Abū Yazīd, He said, I would fain show thee to them. My Beloved, I said, if they wish to see me, and that is Thy wish also, and I cannot disobey Thee, bring me near to Thy uniqueness, clothe me with Thy Lordship, and raise me to Thy unity, so that when Thy creatures see me, they may say they have seen Thee, and Thou shalt be that[1] while I am not there. He did this unto me, set me up, decked me out, and raised me aloft, then said: Go forth to My creatures. I took one step from His presence towards them, and when about to take a second step, I fainted. He called out: Bring back My dear one, for he cannot endure to be away from Me for one hour.

We have been told by Ibn Nāṣir a tradition going back to Abū Mūsā according to which the latter said: It was narrated that Abū Yazīd said: Moses the prophet wished to see Almighty God; I did not want to see Him, He wished to see me.

We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabīb a tradition going back to al-Junaid b. Muḥammad[2] according to which the latter said: Yesterday I was visited by a man from Bisṭām, who said he had heard Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī say: O God, if it be in Thy foreknowledge that Thou shalt punish any of Thy creatures with Hell-fire, increase my body so that Hell shall have no room for anyone save me.

1. What they will see.
2. Apparently the famous ascetic.

I would observe that the impropriety of his previous pretensions is manifest; this last is erroneous from three aspects. (1) He says "If it be in thy foreknowledge," whereas we know definitely that certain creatures must be punished with Hell-fire, some of whom God has mentioned by name,[1] such as Pharaoh and Abū Lahab. How then after this definite certainty can "if it be" properly be said? (2) He says "increase my body;" had he said "in order to avert it from the believers," it might pass; but he wants to spare the unbelievers also, which is pretending to be more merciful than God. (3) His being ignorant of the magnitude of this fire, and confident of his ability to endure it; neither of which things were in his possession.[2] He then proceeded to say: By Allāh yesterday I had a talk with al-Khiḍr on this question, and the angels approved what I had said. God Almighty also heard me and found no fault with me; had He done so, He would have silenced me.

I would observe that had not this person been supposed to be deranged, it would be proper to retort with the questions! Where was al-Khiḍr? How did he know that the angels approved his statement? And many a reprehensible saying has not brought immediate punishment upon its speaker. I have been told on the authority of his slave Maimūn that the latter declared Sumnūn[3] used to call himself The Liar on account of some verses which he had composed, one of which was:

> In none save Thee have I a share;
> Try me howe'er Thou wilt; I'll bear.[4]

After that he would make the circuit of the schools holding a dripping chamber-pot, and bidding the boys "pray for your uncle the liar."[5]

I would observe that this makes me shudder. Can you suppose that he possessed the strength to which he pretends? It is the result of ignorance of God; had the man known Him, he would only have prayed for health.

We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabīb a tradition going back to Abu'l-'Abbās b. 'Aṭā[6] according to which the latter said: I used to reject these miracles until I was told by a trustworthy person the following story of Abu'l-Ḥusain an-Nūrī,[7] who confirmed it when I asked him. We were, he said, in a *sumairiyah*[8] on the Tigris, when the people said to Abu'l-Ḥusain: Fetch out for us from the Tigris a fish weighing three

1. See XXVIII, 41; CXI, 3.
2. Apparently the confidence and the endurance. But the text seems to have suffered.
3. Died 278. Notice of him in Qushairī, I, 159-161.
4. Qushairī quotes this as Sumnūn's.
5. In Qushairī's account Sumnūn suffered from suppression of urine, and pretended to pray for relief, when he was not doing so.
6. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sahl, died 309 or 311.
7. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, died 295. A somewhat similar miracle is told in his biography in *Kitāb Baghdād*, V, 134.
8. Some sort of craft.

pounds, three ounces. Abu'l-Ḥusain moved his lips, and straightaway there came up from the water a fish weighing precisely that amount which came to rest in the boat. Abu'l-Ḥusain was adjured by the company to tell them what form of prayer he had employed. I said, he replied, By Thy might if Thou dost not bring out of the water a fish weighing three pounds three ounces, I will drown myself in the Tigris.

We have been told by Abū Manṣūr al-Qazzāz a tradition going back to Junaid, according to which the latter said :[1] I heard an-Nūrī say : When I was in Rakkah the neophytes of the place came to me, saying : We are going fishing, and do you, Abu'l-Ḥusain, with your devoutness and your piety, your ascertained piety, produce for us a fish weighing three pounds, no more and no less. I said to my Master : If Thou wilt not at once produce for me a fish weighing what they say, I will fling myself into the Euphrates. Thereupon, I produced a fish which when I weighed it proved to weigh three pounds exactly. I, said Junaid, said to him : If, Abu'l-Ḥusain, the fish had not been produced, would you have flung yourself in ? Yes, he replied.

We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabīb a tradition going back to Abū Ya'qūb al-Kharrāj according to which the latter said : Abu'l-Ḥusain an-Nūrī said to me : I had some hankering after these miracles, and taking a rod from some lads stationed myself between two boats, and said : By Thy might, if Thou wilt not bring out for me a fish weighing three pounds, no more and no less, I will eat nothing. When this was told to Junaid, he said : He deserved to have a snake come out and bite him.

We have been told by Ibn Ḥabīb a tradition going back to 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Abān according to which the latter said : I heard Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz[2] say : My chief sin towards Him is my knowing Him.

I would observe : if this be taken to mean " Knowing Him, I have not acted in accordance with such knowledge, whence my sin is great, like the guilt of one who knows, yet disobeys," it is right ; otherwise it is improper.

We have been told by Ibn Ḥabīb a tradition going back to Aḥmad al-Halfa'ī according to which the latter said : I heard ash-Shiblī say : Men love Thee for thy favour ; I love Thee for thy afflicting.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Qāsim a tradition going back to Abū 'Abdallāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥamdānī,[3] according to which the latter said : I visited ash-Shiblī and when I rose to depart he kept on saying to me and to my companions till we had left the house : Pass on, I am with you wherever you may be, and you are in my charge and my protection.

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1. This story is taken from *Kitāb Baghdād*, V. 132, whose author communicated it to al-Qazzāz.

2. Aḥmad b. 'Īsā, died 247 or 277. Notice of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, IV, 276.

3. *Luma'*, p. 396. The same reporter's name is given in a MS. though a different name appears in the text.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a tradition going back to Manṣūr b. 'Abdallāh, according to which the latter said: Some people visited ash-Shiblī during the illness from which he died, and asked him how he felt. He recited the verse

"Verily the Sulṭān of his love saith: 'I take no bribe.' So ask ye him (may I be his ransom) why he is moved to slay me."[1]

Ibn 'Uqail states that it is recorded that ash-Shiblī said: God says (XCIII, 5): *And verily thy Lord shall presently give thee and thou shalt be satisfied;* yet, by Allāh, Muḥammad will not be satisfied whilst one of his community is in Hell. He proceeded to say: Muḥammad will intercede for his community, and I shall intercede after him so that no one will remain in it (Hell). Ibn 'Uqail observes that the first of these assertions maligns the Prophet, who is satisfied with the punishment of evil-doers; assuredly, since he cursed ten things and persons connected with wine.[2] So the assertion that he is dissatisfied with God's punishing evil-doers is a false assertion, a rash statement due to ignorance of the ruling of the Code. Further, his claim to be an intercessor altogether and to go beyond the work of the Prophet Muḥammad is infidelity; for if a man makes certain that he is one of the people of Paradise, he is one of the people of Hell: still more when he is his own witness that he is of a rank which exceeds that of prophethood, nay surpasses the 'praiseworthy rank,'[3] the supreme intercessorship. Ibn 'Uqail proceeds: All that is in my power in dealing with the innovators is my heart and my tongue; had I power over the sword, I would water the ground with people's blood.

We have been told by Shuhdan bint Aḥmad a tradition going back to Abū 'Abdallāh al-'Alqī, companion of Abu'l-'Abbās b. 'Aṭā, according to which he said: I heard Abu'l-'Abbās b. 'Aṭā say: I read the Qur'ān, and saw that God mentioned no man with commendation till He had tried him; so I besought God to try me. Only a few days and nights passed before there went out of my dwelling more than twenty corpses, none of whom came back. Al-'Alqī added: Moreover he lost his wealth and his reason, his children and his wife. He remained in a demented state some seven years; the first thing that he said on recovering his reason was

Of truth I say Thou hast my patience strained;
I marvel how my love hath all sustained.

1. The second of the lines has been corrected from *Kitāb Baghdād*, XIV,396. In the *Tadhkirat al-Auliyā*, II-181, line 18, the first is translated into Persian, but the second omitted.

2. The reference is to a tradition in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, II, 25, where a curse is declared to be on (1) wine itself, (2) the drinker of it, (3) its cupbearer, (4) its vendor, (5) its purchaser, (6) one who squeezes the grapes, (7) one who orders them to be squeezed, (8) one who carries it, (9) one to whom it is carried, (10) one who profits by its sale.

3. Reference to a tradition given by Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, I, 375, and others in which the Prophet's function in the future world is described.

I would observe that this man's asking for trial was the result of his ignorance; for to ask for trial implies an assumption of strength. And that is as bad as anything can be. Further, "straining of patience" is an injustice, which ought not to be ascribed to the Deity. The most charitable account which can be given of his state of mind is that he composed this verse when still insane.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain as-Sulamī according to which the latter said: Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Husrī[1] used to say: Leave me to my trial; are you not children of Adam, whom God created with His hand, breathing into him of His spirit, to whom He bade the angels prostrate themselves, and gave a command which he disobeyed? If the first draught of the cask be dregs, what will the last be like? According to the same narrator he said: For a time when I read the Qur'ān I used not to ask protection from Satan, saying: Who is Satan that he should be present when the Deity is speaking?

I would observe that the first of these utterances is audaciously irreverent, since it is using harsh language about a prophet;[2] whereas the second is in opposition to God's ordinance (XVI, 100); *And when thou readest the Qur'ān, ask protection of God*, etc.

We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Abī Ṭāhir a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain as-Sulamī, according to which the latter said: I found in writing by my father the following: I heard Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ad-Dīnāwarī[3] say: They have violated the canons of Ṣufism, broken up its path, and altered its concepts by names which they have introduced; calling covetousness "increasing,"[4] irreverence "sincerity," departure from the truth "intoxication," reprehensible enjoyment "amusement," ill-nature "vigour," avarice "sternness," indulgence of passion "trial," reversion to the world "arrival," mendicity "work," foul language "censure." This used not to be the course of the community.

Ibn 'Uqail observes that the Ṣūfīs express forbidden things by terms which though the names are altered connote the idea; thus they designate gatherings for amusement, singing, and frivolity as *times*; the beardless as *witnesses*; a beloved woman as *sister*; the debauchees[5] as *aspirants*; the dance and enjoyment as *emotion*; the abode of sport and idleness as a *hermitage*. Such alteration of names is illicit.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(To be continued).

1. Died 371; notices of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, XI, 340, and *Risālah Qushairiyyah*, (Cairo, 1290), II, 16.
2. The text has "the prophets," but the reference must be to what is said of Adam.
3. Died after 340. Notice of him in *Risālah Qushairiyyah*, ii. 10; on p. 11 this saying of his is cited.
4. The text has been corrected from the *Risālah*, but the commentators find the word for "increasing" difficult, and offer a variant reading meaning "visiting." Probably "increasing" is correct.
5. Text amended conjecturally.

ON THE MARGIN

I

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO THE ARTICLE: "THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE EPISTLES OF THE IKHWĀN AṢ-ṢAFĀ"*

THE author wishes to add a few bibliographical notes to his above-named article, written—this should excuse him—in a forlorn spot of Sudan, with absolutely no books at his disposal. The most important points only will be touched here; the whole question of al-Tauḥīdī's evidence will be resumed, it is hoped, on some other occasion.

1. *Zaid b. Rifā'a*—Mr. Q. Aḥmadali has brought to light some interesting data about this scholar, the reputed friend of the Sincere Brethren. In his article "Zaid b. Rifā'a" and his abridgment of "Ibn-as-Sikkit's Iṣlaḥ al-Manṭiq" (Zeitschrift d. deut. Morgenlaend. Gesellschaft, 1936, pp. 201-208) he drew the attention to a Berlin MS. containing a grammatical work of Zaid. In a postscript (p. 208) he also mentions another extant work of Zaid, the *Kitāb al-Amthāl*, published in Hyderabad. Mr. Aḥmadali also points out, that both the *Tārikh Baghdād* (Vol. VIII, p. 450) and the *Lisān al-Mīzān* (Vol. II, p. 506) contain short articles about him. (It might be added that the *Mīzān* simply reproduced the words of the *K. al-Imtā' wal-Mu'ānasa*, the same that it does in another passage (Vol. III, p. 506).

The alleged passage about Zaid b. Rifā'a in the *Muqābasāt of al-Tauḥīdī*, quoted by Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā, which Mr. Aḥmadali has—according to his own profession—failed to trace in the book—owes its existence, no doubt, to an overlook of Aḥmad Pāshā. He had evidently in mind the *editor's introduction* to the Cairo edition of the *Kitāb al-Muqābasāt*, where the passage of the *Kitāb al-Imtā'* was reproduced (after al-Qifti).

2. An *Abu'l-Hasan al-'Aufī* is mentioned as the author of a *Risāla fi Aqsām al-Maujūdāt*. Mr. Aḥmadali seems to consider him as identical with the al-'Aufī mentioned by al-Tauḥīdī as a co-author of the *Rasā'il*. This identification is, however, more than doubtful.

3. My friend, Dr. S. Pines, reminds me that the story of the Magician and the Jew is literally reproduced (no doubt from the *Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*) in the Latin translation of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Sirr al-Asrār*.

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* *Islamic Culture*, October, 1946, p. 372.

4. The supplement to Brockelmann's History of Arabic literature contains some additional bibliographical references on the *Rasā'il*, (Vol. I, pp. 379-381).

S. M. STERN.

II

A NOTE ON IBN-FIRNAS'S SUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT AT SOARING FLIGHT

THE brief account of Abu-al-Qāsim Ibn-Firnās's successful attempt in the latter half of the ninth century A. D.—at what is nowadays called 'soaring flight,' or 'flight without power,' or with somewhat more elaborate appliances but still without the use of power-machinery, flight with gliders—written by al-Maqqari of Tilimsān, in his famous work, *Nafh-al-Ṭib*, at Damascus, sometime between 1628 and 1630 A.D., has given rise to several interesting comments by writers both in the East and in the West.

Ibn-Firnās was a great musician endowed with extraordinary powers of invention. Philip K. Hitti in his *History of the Arabs* (Macmillan, 1937, p. 598), after recounting a number of scientific services rendered by Ibn-Firnās to Muslim Spain :— manufacture of glass, popularisation of Oriental music, building of a sort of planetarium, exhibiting not only the movements of stars and planets, but imitating the phenomena of clouds and even lightning—states that "Ibn-Firnās was the first man in Arab history to make a scientific attempt at flight." A perusal of the original Arabic account* reveals the fact that Ibn-Firnās's flying equipment consisted of a suit of feathers with wings, which carried him a long distance in the air ; but in alighting he hurt himself (evidently not very seriously) for lack of a steadying tail.

Lewis Mumford in his *Technics and Civilization* (Routledge, p. 22) writing about aeronautics says: "As with so many elements in our culture the original impulse was imparted in this movement by the Arabs as early as 880, when Ibn-Firnās had attempted flight." The date of his death is given as 888 A.D.

We would have been in a better position to judge the merits of his appliances and the principles involved, if there had been fuller information concerning the size and form of the suit, the place from where Ibn-Firnās let himself be carried up by air-currents rising vertically from the ground and the time of the day the attempt was made.

Observation of the soaring flight of birds and the imposing sight of cumulus clouds taught the adventurous youth of militant Germany,

* Vide *Analectes sur l'Histoire et la Litterature des Arabes D'Espagne, par al-Makkari*, Tome Second, Vol. II, pp. 254, 255, Leyde, E.J. Brill, 1856-1861.

before the second World War, to perfect the design of gliders, which enabled them to get buoyed up by ascending currents of air in the day for several hours and be carried off by the drifting winds long distances from the starting eminence.

Ibn-Firnās must have adopted the same means and followed instinctively the same procedure. It is a pity there is such scanty information in Arabic literature on this fascinating subject. A good deal of it must have perished with the expulsion of the Arabs from Spain in 1492, before some could reach Maqqari in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

It may not be out of place here to mention that in the publication, "Aeronautics: Handbook of Collections, Science Museum, London," (H. M. S. Office, 1935, page 7), are described experiments of Elmer of Malmesbury and John Damian in the eleventh and sixteenth centuries, when they essayed to fly by means of wings with calamitous results.

There is no reference to Ibn-Firnās's much earlier and presumably more successful, or at least less hazardous attempt.

M. A. R. KHAN.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

Persian and Arabic Diaries :

THE State Library possesses a unique collection of Persian and Arabic Diaries and these are classified under *Insha*.

The most interesting collection among the Diaries are 200 letters of the Mirs of Sind and about 100 letters of the Nawab of Surat. A casual examination of these letters shows that they will throw a flood of light on the state of affairs in India after 1815. As a source of history, these should prove invaluable to scholars. A short note is given on each volume for the guidance of scholars interested in this subject.

(1) Diary of 1815. Vol. 5. Library Registered Number 653. Contains 82 copies of letters. A few of these letters are addressed to the Governor of Bombay.

(2) Diary of 1819. Vol. 6. Library Registered Number 654. In all, this volume possesses 150 copies of letters.

(3) Diary of 1824. Vol. 4. Library Registered No. 652. Has 99 letters.

(4) Diary of 1825. Vol. 2. Library Registered No. 650. This volume is important because besides the letters of Maharajahs, Nawabs, it contains a number of appeals, *Arzees*, which throw a flood of light on the social, economic and political condition of the State and country.

(5) Diary of 1826. Vol. 1. Library Registered No. 732. In this volume, almost all letters cover up 4 to 5 pages. News-writers such as Munshi Md. Yusuf, Azeem-ullah Khan and Ghulam Mohiuddin have given descriptive notes on the events and happenings in their respective centres or zones, to the Governor of Bombay. This volume contains in all 186 letters, though all do not belong to 1826. The first part consists of 53 letters written to the Governor of Bombay, while the second part consists of letters written by the Governor and addressed to the Nawabs and Rajahs of various States and belongs to 1835.

(6) Diary of 1835. Vol. 1. Library Registered No. 649. It has in all 74 letters in Arabic from the rulers of Mukkela, Makran, etc.

(7) Diary of 1838. Vol. 3. Library Registered No. 651. In all there are 82 letters in Persian.

(8) Diary of 1838. Vol. 4. Library Registered No. 735. Contains 37 letters in Arabic.

(9) Diary of 1839. Vol. 3. Library Registered No. 734. Contains 38 letters in Arabic.

(10) Diary of 1844. Library Registered No. 736. It has 32 letters in Arabic.

(11) Diary of 1846. Library Registered No. 737. Possesses 33 letters in Arabic.

(12) Diary of 1858. Vol. 1. Library Registered No. 707. This is one of the most important volumes and contains original letters and it has in all 69 letters.

(13) Diary of 1860. Library Registered No. 733. This volume has 134 letters, reports, etc., written in a bad hand, majority in Urdu and a few of them are in Persian language.

These Persian and Arabic correspondences were carried on by rulers, and ministers of various states, and the British agents and officials with the Governor of Bombay and his replies to them. Besides these, there are other letters such as from the Dalal (Agent) of Masket, Edris-bin-Sayyid Mubarak, Bakhshi Qazi Mir Sadruddin of Surat, Yusuf Mir Munshi, the High Priest of the Bhoras, Prince of Shiraz, Khan of Khelat, Shahzadi of Shah Alam II, Azeem-ullah Khan, (a regular news-writer from the court of Rajah Ranjit Sing), and letters from the court news-writers of Surat, Sindh, Cambay, Sachin, Indore, Hyderabad, Gwalior, Bhopal, etc.

These volumes, important as they are, have not been utilised by students and scholars of Indian History. For a detailed note, *vide* K. Sajanlal's Report on the Persian and Arabic Diaries, published in the *Indian Historical Records*, Vol. XXII, Appendix E, pp. 14-17.

A few of these letters pertaining to the Mirs of Sindh, have been published under the title, *Talpur-British Correspondence* 1815-1819, by K. Sajanlal, in the Journal of Sindh Historical Society, Vol. VIII, No. 1.

The Rainbow :

In the latest issue of the *Rainbow* Mr. K. Sajanlal, has contributed a series of articles entitled, "Relations between Nawab Mir Nizam Ali Khan and Peshwa Madhav Rao I." The first part covers the year 1762 to 1763. The second deals with the period from 1763 to 1766. While the third part closes with the death of the Peshwa, *i.e.*, 1773.

Mr. M. S. Sitharamiah has taken up the "Berar Question," and traces its history from ancient times to the Mughal period. Thereafter he deals with Berar under Asaf Jah I.

The Magazine of the Graduates of the Osmania University :

In the latest issue of this magazine, there are two interesting articles, *viz.*, "The Administration of the Deccan under the Bahmanids" by Late

Muḥammad Murtaḍa Ṣāhib and "The Accession of Muẓaffer Jung" by Mr. Moinuddin.

In the latter part of this Journal, Mr. Muhammad Ghaus, has contributed a very interesting article on "The Paper Industry." Herein he not only cites but also reproduces the two *Firmans*, one of Aurangzeb, and the other of Āṣaf Jah I, granting special exemption from tax to the paper manufacturers of Kagziguda in the Taluqa-i-Khuldabad in the Suba of Aurangabad.

Subras :

In the June issue of this journal there appears a short article, rather a note, on "Nawab Shams-ul-Umara's Press," from the pen of Mr. Naṣir-ud-din Hashmi.

New Weeklies and Monthlies :

In spite of the shortage of paper, it is pleasing to see that a number of Urdu weeklies and Urdu monthlies have made their appearance. The weeklies are (1) "Naksh-o-Nigār," (2) "The Sayyid-ul-Akhbar," (3) "Azad Haidrabad," (4) "Yād," (5) "Al Belāg" (6) "Moin."

The Urdu journals published monthly are (1) "Muslim" (2) "Romān" (3) "Dāstān" (4) "Savaira" (5) "Parvāz," etc.

K. S. L.

DECCAN

Foundation of the Indo-Islamic State :

Dr. H. N. Sinha, Nagpur University, has contributed this important article to the *Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society* (for 1946). He considers that the Islamic State was a Theocracy. The needs of the Muslim rule in India were different from their needs in countries like Persia and Arabia. The enormous extent of the country and its vast population rendered the technique of Muslim Theocracy in many ways ineffective. By staying over in India the Muslim rulers could hardly think of the welfare of the state in terms of the welfare of the Muslim population only, or of the glorification of Islam. They had to think of the good of the state and benefit of the people first, and then, of what was in accordance with the law of Islam. The first entry into Sind under Muḥammad bin Qāsim was not a holy war waged for the

propagation of Islam, but a war of conquest. ' Not only were the Hindus tolerated, but also they enjoyed privileges in matters religious and political, and were associated with their conquerors in administration of the country.' The Indian Sultans from Quṭbu'd-Din Aibak to Sulṭan Firōz Tughluq followed the Hanafite school of law. In short, Muslim rulers realised that the Indians could not be governed according to the dictates of Muslim Theocracy. So they had to discard the policy of exclusion and seek the co-operation of the Hindus in the civil and military departments of the realm. This recognition of the political expediency of the Muslim rulers of India, laid the foundation of a new state which may be designated as the Indo-Islamic State.

The Myth of Rani Padmini and 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji :

In the Bulletin of the Nagpur University referred to above, Dr. K. S. Lal writes this article. Its substance is : Malik Jaisi, a poet of the 16th century, in his epic *Padmavati*, gave currency to the legend that Sultan 'Alāu'd-Dīn invaded Chitor prompted by a desire to acquire the possession of Padmini, the beautiful consort of Ratan Singh, the ruler of Chitor. The story of Jaisi which is an admixture of romance, adventure and tragedy ending with the self-immolation of the queen, has been taken as authentic by many historians including Frishta and Ḥajjiu'd-Dabīr. The writer of this article, after discussing many points of the allegorical nature in the story, considers it as a literary concoction lacking historical support. Moreover, it is asserted that among those who perished was perhaps a queen of Ratan Singh whose name was Padmini. It seems necessary to add here that formerly the same myth of Padmini was fully dealt with by three other scholars who arrived at the same conclusion as Dr. K. S. Lal, *viz.*, (1) The late Maulvi Iḥtishāmu'd-Din of Delhi in *Afsāna-i-Padmini* in 1939. (2) Principal Zahidi of Bahawalpur College in a series of articles in the *Burḥān* of Delhi, and (3) M. 'Abdur Raḥmān Ṣiddīqī of Calcutta in the *Current Thoughts of Calcutta*, 1942.

Sind University :

The readers of the *Islamic Culture* will remember that in its issue of April, 1942, pp. 246-47 we gave notice of the *Proposed Arabic University for Sind*, which was then contemplated by men like Dr. Daudpota and Sayyid Miran Muḥammad Shāh. We are now glad to say that within a short period of about five years this scheme has been materialised by the Sind Ministry and it has been called the *Sind University*. On the 27th February, 1947 the Premier Mr. Ghulām Ḥusain Hidāyatullāh finally had the Bill of the Sind University passed by the Council in spite of the vehement opposition of the Congress party. The House passed the

Bill with an amendment making it compulsory for the educational institutions in the Province to affiliate themselves to the Sind University, and not to any other university either in British India or Indian states. Commenting on this Bill, the *Times of India*, Bombay, wrote under 'Current Topics:' " * * * The case for a University in Sind is excellent but, from every point of view in the interest of the Province, it is obviously desirable to establish it on lines which appeal generally to all sections of the population. In the current political atmosphere it is perhaps inevitable, although deplorable, that the peculiar composition of political parties should distort even an enterprise like this. * * That a University should be as independent a body as is humanly possible is recognised throughout the world. Education is, too, subject to political interference already in India without making matters worse." As Karachi has, now, become the seat of Pakistan, the Sind University, it is hoped, will, as soon as possible, push its schemes and establish a model University worthy of its name.

The Undercurrents of Muslim Culture :

The *University College Magazine*, Trivandrum, (December 1946) has published an article under this heading by K. Muḥammad, Lecturer, Trivandrum University. " The desire to see his religious experience transformed into a living world-force was supreme in Muḥammad. To judge the value of a prophet's religious experience, would be to examine the type of manhood he has created, and the cultural world that has evolved out of the spirit of his message. " After this, by quoting the verses of the Qur'ān, the writer has very carefully discussed the points, *viz.*, the spirit of the Prophet Muḥammad's message and the finality of the institution of prophethood. Lastly he says " History is the third source of human knowledge. The Qur'ān has germs of a historical doctrine. The possibility of a scientific treatment of the life of human societies regarded as organisms is nothing remote(?). Ibn Khaldūn's exposition of the philosophy of history has been mainly due to the inspiration which the author must have received from the Quranic verses. ' The main point of interest in Ibn Khaldūn's view of history is the conception of life and time. History, as a continuous movement in time, is a genuinely creative movement. The merit of the historian lies in his keen perception of the spirit of the cultural movement.' "

Dārā Shikōh's Majma'ul-Baḥrain :

We have formerly written twice on this topic in the *Islamic Culture* (1944, pp. 88-89, 215-216). We are glad to find that as the MSS. of the Sanskrit version of the Persian edition of *Majma'ul-Baḥrain* of Dārā

Shikōh on mysticism, are found in many libraries all over India, Dr. V. Raghvan of Madras (vide *Journal of Oriental Research Madras*, March 1946, Vol. XV, Pt. *iii*, published very recently) has undertaken to publish the Sanskrit version by collating it with many MSS. from various libraries in India. We hope that the Persian version of the *Majma'ul-Baḥrain* with an English translation by the late M. Maḥfūẓ-ul-Ḥaq, published in the *Bengal Asiatic Society Series*, will also be fully acknowledged. We have reason to doubt that Dr. V. Raghvan may have not known the work so far done by scholars on the Sanskrit version, the *Samadra-Sangama* and the Persian original of *Majma'ul-Baḥrain*. After quoting a Sanskrit verse, Dr. Raghvan concludes : " By his frequent contact with Baba Lal, Dārā Shikōh discovered that the differences between Islam and Hinduism were verbal, not essential. He then proceeded to harmonise the two faiths, enshrining wisdom which he called the Union of the two Oceans."

Patronage of Telugu Literature by the Quṭb Shāhī Sulṭāns :

The recently published proceedings of the Indian History Congress, held at Annamalainagar under the auspices of the Annamalai University in 1945, contains one important contribution—the *Two Muḥammadan Patrons of Telugu Literature in the 16th century* by V. Narayana Rao, Lecturer in History, P. R. College, Cocanada. Ibrahim Qutb Shāh of Golkonda (1550-1580) and Amīr Khān, one of his important officials were great patrons of the Telugu literature. Addanki Gangadhara Kavi dedicated a Prabandha called *Tapati Samvarano Pakyanam* to Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and Ponniganti Telaganna dedicated *Yayati Charitram* to Amīr Khān. " There have not been many Muḥammadan patrons of Telugu literature and it is no wonder. But the two Muḥammadans to whom were dedicated the above-mentioned Prabandhams are very highly spoken of by the poets of the day." It is evident from these Prabhandams and the Chatu Verses that these patrons were greatly respected by these poets. The writer asserts that though Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh took an active part in the overthrow of the Empire of Vijayanagar at the battle of Talikota yet he endeared himself to the Telugu poets of the day by his patronage of the Telugu literature. He is called in the verses as : Malikibharama or Ibharama and many Chatu Verses describe his great love for Telugu literature and the princely gifts he gave to Telugu men of letters. The first work describes the conquests of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh as well as of his father who established the independent kingdom of Golkonda. The verses say that Ibrāhīm conquered Udayagiri, driving out Venkata from there, conquered Vinukonda, Bellamkonda and Tangeda and by force of arms he captured the impregnable fortress of Kondaveedu which enjoyed a position of great strategical importance. Thus Ibrāhīm extended his kingdom as far as Kassimkonda in Vizag district. The other work which is dedicated to Amīr Khān also throws light on

many important events of Quṭb Shāhī dynasty. He had built a city called Amirpur after his name and also many important buildings. His eldest son Galat Khān (?) earned the good-will of his sovereign by his achievements. His brother Fāzil Khān, brought about an understanding between Ibrāhīm and Sreerangaraya of the Aravidu dynasty. Both these Telugu works speak of Hindu and Muslim unity in the empire.

Portrait of Sultān 'Abdulla Quṭb Shāh :

Dr. H. Goetz has published from the collection of the Baroda State Museum (Baroda State Museum Bulletin, Vol. III, Pt. I) a sketch of portrait of a Mughal noble, which he has entitled *An Early Mughal Portrait of Sulṭān 'Abdulla of Golkonda*, because there is written on it both in Persian and Telugu characters" قطب شاه " Quṭb Shāh and "Quṭmishya Padushah" respectively. A casual observation of the sketch itself undoubtedly leads to call it a Mughal study but to call it, simply on account of these inscriptions a *Portrait of 'Abdulla Quṭb Shāh of Golkonda*, stops us to accept the allegation because we are expected to be familiar with the characteristics of the Deccani School of Painting. It would have been better if some previously published portrait of the same Sultan had been compared with this. Moreover, the inscription on the sketch simply says "Quṭb Shāh" which by itself is very vague. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary that such positive statement as a portrait of 'Abdulla Quṭb Shāh, should have been avoided. It cannot be denied that Dr. Goetz has done his best to furnish some details of the career of Sultān 'Abdulla Quṭb Shāh which do not contribute anything to the painting itself from the point of view of Art. In our opinion these details of his life were not at all necessary. Fortunately at present two previously published portraits of the same Sulṭān 'Abdulla Quṭb Shāh are before us, *viz.*, one is in a long procession of the Sulṭān on horse-back (*A Survey of Painting in the Deccan* by Stela Karamrish, Plates XVI-XVII, from the collection of the late Sir Akbar Hydari) and the other portrait is perhaps from the collection of Nawab Salar Jang Bahadur (*Special Deccan Number of the Sab Ras, Hyderabad Deccan*, 1939). Both these portraits resemble each other, although drawn at different stages of life—the one in procession is without beard and the other of advanced age is with beard. One can, without difficulty, recognise them to be the portrait of one and the same person. The special features of the Sultan are not discernible from the published sketch by Dr. Goetz. After these remarks the published portrait of a Mughal nobleman cannot be claimed to be the portrait of Sulṭān 'Abdulla Quṭb Shāh of Golkonda.*

* Here it may be added that 'The portrait reproduced in Goetz's article does not represent 'Abdulla Quṭb Shāh. Contemporary portraits of this king are preserved in the collections of the British Museum and also in the Rijks Museum, Amsterdam. The portrait in question represents a Mughal Prince, real or imaginary. The technique of the portrait is north-Indian and not Dekhani. (I. C.)

Origin of Bombay :

Dr. H. D. Sankalia has contributed a short but interesting article on *Origin of Bombay* to the Journal of the University of Bombay (Vol. XV, Pt. 4) which in reality is a criticism on Dr. Saletore's previous article on the same topic already published in the same journal (Vol. XIII, July, 1944, pp. 1-9). Dr. Sankalia in the course of his arguments says : " In the first place, he (Dr. Saletore) has misread and misquoted Bird's *Translation of the Mirat-i-Aḥmadi*, which vitiates his entire chain of reasoning. For, as pointed out by Khān Bahadur Prof. Shaikh, Bird mentions " Manbai " and not " Manbani," as alleged by Dr. Saletore. The relevant passage runs as follows : " Having carried an army against Chaiwal, in the year of Hijra 913=A.D. 1507, in order to destroy the Europeans, he effected his designs against the town of Bassai (Bassein) and MANBAI (Bombay) and returned to his own capital on the 11th of the Muharram, A.H. 914=A.D. 1508. (Section II of Reign of Sulṭān Fatḥ Khān, entitled Maḥmud Bigarrah), pp. 214-215." After discussing his thesis Dr. Sankalia concludes thus : " From whatever point of view we examine the theory proposed by Dr. Saletore, it is found to be faulty and hence to be rejected. If we have to trace the origin of the word Bombay (or Mumbai, as now pronounced by Indians) on the strength of the name mentioned by the 18th-19th century Persian writers, including the author of *Mirat-i-Aḥmadi*, we may as well accept the view held hitherto, *viz.*, the word " Bombay " (Munbai) is connected with the goddess Mumba Devi, who was the patron deity of the Kolis, and her temple was on the central island. We had also pointed out with reference to Dr. Saletore's article (*Islamic Culture*, 1944, pp. 439-40) that the word مُنبی means* " who gives information, makes known, brings news." When we further re-examine this word being derivated from نبأ meaning ' to be lofty or high ' and نبا - انبا meaning ' to announce, ' we are encouraged to say that it might really have been named by the Arabs, who had come to Thana in the beginning of the seventh century of the Christian era and since then it is known to the world as a great port and great trade centre. Yāqūt Ḥamavi (Mu'jam, Vol. IV, p. 741) has given under word النبی a place-name, one quotation of Aus bin Ḥajar : مکان النبی من الکاتب Here the expression of word النبی means ' embankment.' All this shows that according to the physical situation of the Bombay island the Arabs might have given the name Manbi which is generally called Munbai, and Bombay by the foreign writers. Dr. Sankalia has quoted above the *Mirat-i-Aḥmadī* (completed in A.H. 1174), which contains the mention of place-name Manbai being the so far earliest known mention of this word in the Persian history. Here we take the opportunity of quoting the *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb* of Khafi Khān (Vol. II, pp. 401, 421-428)

* Here it may be noted that ' The Arabic derivation of the word is not convincing. The connection of the name with Munbai Devi, patron deity of Kolis is also conjectural. ' (I. C.)

under years A.H. 1103/A.D. 1691 and A.H. 1105/A.D. 1693, respectively. Outlining the boundaries of different kingdoms Khāfi Khān says : " Besides this, the Portuguese occupying the country from 14 or 15 *kos* south of Surat to the boundaries of the fort of (منبئی) Manbai, which belongs to the English and to the boundaries of the territory of the Habshis which is called the Nizām Shāhī Kokan." Then he cites one interesting incident which particularly concerns the English establishment at Manbai. We jot it down very briefly which is generally ignored by the writers on Bombay and the author Khafi Khān himself had taken an active part in this incident. Therefore his recording this place-name as Manbai is not without interest. The incident is this : The royal ship called the *Ganj-i-Sarai*, which according to the دریا نوردان ' navigators,' was named ڈول جہاز *Dol Jahāz*, used to sail for Mecca every year from Surat. When it was coming back to Surat it was attacked and captured by the English. The loss was reported to Aurangzeb and the news-writer of Surat sent some rupees which the English had coined at Manbai with a superscription containing the name of their king. Then the English factories were seized. The fort of Manbai was besieged. I'timād Khān, who was leading the campaign, realised that a struggle with the English would result in a heavy loss to the customs revenue. Khāfi Khān, the author of *Muntakhabu'l-Lubab* himself went to see the English of Manbai, when he was acting as agent of 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Khān at the fort of Surat. He entered the fortress and observed the splendid atmosphere. (He has given a complete picture of his observations of the magnificence of the Manbai fort). He met there Englishmen and exchanged views with the English Dewan. Khāfi Khan after describing the victories of Aurangzeb over the Deccani kings said : "Is the island of Manbai a sure refuge ?" Then the English Dewan explained and justified his action for coining a separate coin. After this Khāfi Khān was entertained. According to him (p. 427) the total revenue of the whole island of Manbai which was chiefly derived from betel-nuts and cocoa-nuts, did not reach to two or three *lacs* of rupees. The profit of the commerce of the English did not exceed twenty *lacs* of rupees. The balance of the money required for the maintenance of the English settlement was obtained by plundering the ships voyaging to Mecca.' (*Vide* Elliot and Dowson, VII, pp. 344-45, 350-55). The same place-name, Manbai, is also available in the recently published *Tārikh-i-Muzaffar Shāhī* (composed in A.D. 1518) which describes the conquest of Mandu by Muzaffar Shāh of Gujarat who started from Muhammadabad-Champaner to Mandu. The Sultān had encamped at one place Muzaffarabad *alias* Manbai (Manbi) after leaving Godhra (p. 16, text and intr. Engl., p. 4). We can conclude from all this that owing to the physical situation of the town this name Manbai was given by the Muslims. As we have already pointed out (*Islamic Culture*, 1944, pp. 439-440) the word *Mumba* has neither any connection with Hindu mythology nor it is of Sanskrit origin. Therefore, our modest opinion is that the etymological derivation of word ' Manbai, ' which later on became

Bombay, is from the Arabic language as pointed out above, and this is the reason why this place-name ' Manbai ' which must have some significance, remains a controversial problem among the scholars.

The Foundation of Pakistan :

In the history of the world it will ever remain on record that, after all, a Muslim State within India (" MUSLIM INDIA WITHIN INDIA —Iqbal ")—Pakistan —has been established (on 15th August, 1947) and has been celebrated at Karachi, its present capital. Undoubtedly the whole credit of this unique and wonderful achievement in the domain of politics goes to the efforts of a single person, the Qaid-i-'Azam, Muḥammad Ali Jinnah, the first Governor-General of Pakistan. In his reply to the welcome given to him by the Mayor and Councillors of the Municipal Corporation of Karachi on the 25th August, 1947, he said, "* * * Karachi is no ordinary town. Nature has given it exceptional advantages which particularly suit modern needs and conditions. That is why, starting from humble beginnings, it has come to be what it is, and one could say with confidence that the day is not far hence when it will be ranked amongst the first cities of the world. Not only its airports but the naval port and also the main town, will be amongst the finest. * * * I visualise a great future for Karachi—it always had immense potentialities. Now with the establishment of the Pakistan capital here and the arrival of the Pakistan Government and its personnel and the consequent influx of trade, industry and business, immense potentialities have opened out for it. So let us all strive together to make this beautiful town a great metropolis, a centre of trade, industry and commerce and a seat of learning and culture * *." On this occasion the city fathers of Karachi would have done well to trace its history from the days of the Arab conquest of Sind by Muḥammad bin Qāsim who had, in fact, laid the foundation of a Muslim State in terms of Pakistan as defined by the Qaid-i-'Azam. Today the residents of Karachi have forgotten that Muḥammad bin Qāsim was the first conqueror of Sind. He first established Muslim rule at Daibul which is unanimously recognised to have been situated not far from where Karachi stands today. (*Chach Nama*, pp. 252-255.) About the first Muslim settlement at Daibul the historian of Islam, Aḥmad bin Yaḥya bin Jabir al-Balādhuri (d. A.H. 279/A.D. 892) says in his *Futuḥu'l-Buldān* : — " Al-Ḥajjāj kept sending messages to Muḥammad bin Qāsim, and every three days Muḥammad would send him replies describing the progress of the campaign, and asking his advice about what he should do. One letter came to Muḥammad from Al-Ḥajjāj, saying, ' Set up the 'arūs, shortening its foot * * shot at the yard-arm * *. Then Muḥammad, upon their making a sortie against him, attacked them, and put them to flight. * * The city (Daibul) was thus conquered by force. * * Dahir (the then king of Sind) fled from the place, * * *Muḥammad marked out a quarter for the*

Muslims, built a mosque, and settled 4000 colonists there." (Text, pp. 435-36.) So by a strange coincidence after about thirteen centuries the Muslim State is, again, established on the very spot which Muḥammad bin Qāsim had set apart for the Muslims. But we should not forget that this Arab conquest of Sind was called by historians like Stanley Lane Pool as "*A Triumph without result.*" This should serve as a timely warning to the Muslims of India. We pray to the Almighty in the words of the Prophet Abraham: "My Lord. Make safe this territory, and preserve me and my sons from serving idols." (*Qur'ān*, sūrah Ibrāhīm, 35.)

Principal Dr. Muḥammad Bazlu'r-Raḥmān :

The late Dr. M. Bazlu'r-Raḥmān belonged to a family of scholars who dedicated their lives to Islamic history and culture. He started his career at Lahore. He graduated with Arabic from the Punjab University topping the list of successful candidates. He was then awarded a European scholarship by the Government of India for higher studies. He joined Cambridge and worked under Prof. Nicholson. He got his Doctorate from that University and also published a very important work, the *Zādu'l-Musāfirīn* of Nāṣir Khusrau 'Alawi at the Kaviani Press, Berlin (1922). On his return to India he was appointed Professor of Persian at the Lucknow University. For the last fifteen years he was *Principal* of the Ismā'il Yusuf College, Bombay, since its inception, (1930), the only Muslim first-grade college in the whole of the Bombay Presidency. He was very popular among his students. He associated himself with all the Muslim educational activities of the Bombay Presidency. He was one of the most active members of the Bombay University Senate. The introduction of *Islamic Culture* as an independent subject for M.A. in the university was entirely due to his efforts. To all appearances he was very healthy. He died of heart failure at the age of forty-nine at his residence in the college premises on 16th February, 1947. He was an excellent friend, and was always ready to help his students in building their career. In him we have lost a great educationalist and historian.

M. A. C.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

THE most extraordinary development in Indian politics is the creation of the dominion of Pakistan. This news was splashed by the Muslim press of Bengal, Bihar and the U.P. in bold headlines amidst great acclamations and rejoicings. The birth of a new Muslim state on the map of the globe has really been a source of great jubilations to the entire Muslim population of India. Congratulatory messages on this

outstanding achievement of Mr. Muḥammad 'Ali Jinnah, the President of the All-India Muslim League, have been sent even from the different Muslim countries of the world. The political reconstruction and economic planning together with the religious organisation of the Pakistan state is now a subject of keen discussion. A section of the Muslim opinion advocates that in Pakistan, the faithful should be free to pursue their own destinies without being drowned in the treacherous slush and mire of atavism and abominations. For this, they are of opinion that the essence of practical reality must be extracted from the garden of faith, which is the Holy Qur'ān. But the task is by no means easy, for the modern age has yet to see an Islamic state at work. The consensus of Muslim opinion is, however, positively in favour of developing a true Islamic ideology and mentality amongst the Muslim citizens of Pakistan. These feelings were reverberated in a significant remark of Qaid-e-'Azam Muḥammad 'Ali Jinnah, who, on a demand whether Pakistan would be modelled on true Islamic principles, observed that Pakistan cannot disregard the fundamental principles of Shari'at and the Quranic Laws, for, he added further, " more than thirteen centuries have gone by and in spite of bad weather and fair that the Mussalmans had to pass through, we have not been only proud of our great and Holy Book, the Qur'ān, but we have adhered to all its fundamentals all these ages." Mr. M. A. Jinnah's political admirer, the Hon'ble Mr. Ghazanfar 'Ali Khan, who held at the same time the membership of H.E. the Viceroy's Executive Council, also said during the course of his speech in Abbottabad that laws in Pakistan will be based on Islamic principles of social justice. The *Dawn* of Delhi, an official organ of the All-India Muslim League, has been publishing a number of articles, in which the essentials of an Islamic state together with its religious matters are being hotly discussed. A contributor named Badr-ud-Din Aḥmad of Calcutta observes that the success and prosperity of Pakistan will depend mostly on the devoted service of men having imagination and solid character and possessing a wide knowledge of the world with a background of Islamic history, temporal and spiritual. It is therefore high time that we realised, writes Mr. Badr-ud-Din Aḥmad, that Islam as generally understood and practised by us today, is not the Islam which was preached by our beloved Prophet and followed in his time and in those of his *Ṣaḥāba* and *Tābi'yeen*. But we cannot do so, he contends further, unless we dig out the real teaching of our religion from a mass of rubbish that has accumulated in the course of centuries. For an effective step in that direction the above writer suggests that the portals of the Quranic wisdom and prophetic philosophy must be thrown open to the modern educated youths of Pakistan by compiling an authentic Urdu translation and commentary of the Holy Qur'ān and by having complete translations of the universally acknowledged Traditions of the Prophet. And yet another contributor to the above Muslim League organ puts forth a suggestion that if the Holy Qur'ān is to become the Charter of Pakistan state, the latter must have a College of Pontiffs to undertake research and

interpretation work. This college, according to the learned contributor, should be semi-governmental organisation and its function should be to marshal facts and to express its opinions. Its opinions will not have the force of law unless approved by the government and the people. And a still more remarkably outspoken and realistic suggestion was made in the correspondence columns of the *Dawn* by a writer, who said that " when our Islamic State has been established it is our foremost duty to look out after religious matters and enforce religious injunctions so that the betterment of Muslims can be achieved." This observation is followed by a prudent suggestion that "as in Islamic days Prayer, Fasting, Pilgrimage, Bait-ul-Mal and Zakat, (poor-tax) etc., were strictly observed and the defaulters were punished according to the Quranic laws, similarly now the time has come that the same may be strictly re-enforced." It was perhaps in due regard of these inner wishes of the Muslims that the Jami'at-ul-'Ulema-i-Islam has adopted a resolution demanding the establishment of a powerful Shari'at Department both in the provincial and central governments of Pakistan. The *Statesman* of Calcutta has also been displaying its interest on the nature of laws in Pakistan, and initiated a discussion on it by publishing a letter of one of its Muslim readers from Burdawan. The writer of this letter says categorically that Pakistan would certainly apply the Islamic law to its Muslim nationals on the ground that it is their own law, but there is little probability of the Islamic Code being applied to others. The writer also argues that Pakistan would certainly draw its inspiration largely from the Prophet and the Caliphs. The charter granted by the Prophet to the Jews and the Christians provided that there would be no interference with their faiths and observances. The history of the Caliphate also makes it clear that non-Muslims enjoyed equal right with the Muslims and held posts of honour. They were allowed the fullest possible freedom to preserve their languages, literature, religion, custom, civilisation, culture, laws, and institutions. They were entitled to just and fair treatment. The Dhimmis or non-Muslims were, " not subject to the laws of Islam with respect to religious matters, such as fasting or prayer or with respect to temporal acts such as the sale of wine or swine's flesh, which, though contrary to the Muslim religion, were legal by their own." It was therefore quite in consonance with the true ideals and high traditions of Islam that Qaid-e-'Azam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah, after being appointed as the Governor-General of Pakistan, at a Press conference assured very magnanimously the non-Muslim minorities of his dominion that they would have full protection of their religious faith, life, property and culture. At this Press conference Qaid-e-'Azam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah expressed himself to be a great believer in democracy taught by Islam thirteen and a half centuries ago.

Pakistan was Dr. Iqbal's dream. It is now a stark reality. He visualised that a consolidated Muslim state will serve the best interests of India as well as Islam. For India it will mean security and peace resulting from internal balance of power. For Islam it would be an opportunity to

mobilise its law, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times: Each and all the Muslims wish however that the architects of Pakistan will not detract from what Dr. Iqbal conceived it to be.

Like India, Bengal has also been subdivided into two parts. The Western Bengal will be included in Hindustan, while the Eastern Bengal, together with the district of Sylhet (Assam), will join Pakistan. As a result of this partition, the educational structure of the Calcutta University will undergo a great change. The Calcutta University has at present 2300 schools, 116 colleges and 1151 madrasas under it. After the division of Bengal and Assam, 1200 schools would go to the Eastern Bengal and about 300 to Assam. Of the 116 colleges 35 colleges would be included in the Eastern Bengal and 23 would go to Assam. Similarly 1025 madrasas from the total number of 1151 would be claimed by the Eastern Bengal. These changes will cause a sudden and rapid decline in the jurisdiction, scope, function and finance of the Calcutta University. The main sources of the income of the Calcutta University are examination fees and publications, the net yield from the former being about Rs. 10,00,000 and that from the latter Rs. 3,50,000. The Bengal Government grants more than Rs. 5,00,000. This income will be greatly reduced if the schools, colleges and madrasas of the East Bengal and Assam are disaffiliated from the Calcutta University. As against this, the Dacca University, which is in the East Bengal, has now the prospect of a phenomenal and rapid expansion in its educational functions and jurisdiction and may attain very soon the status of one of the most important seats of learning. The Dacca University was founded in 1921 and has since then been a residential university. But it is likely to inherit now much of the functions of the Calcutta University. It will have necessarily to extend its scope and function to that of an affiliating and examining body while at the same time maintaining the provision of advanced teaching through an agency distinct from the staffs of the affiliated colleges.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal has publishd in its Vol. XII, No. I, 1947, an article on *Ibn Ḥazm and his Jamharat-ul-Ansab* by Mr. Mas'ūd Ḥasan. 'Ali bin Aḥmad bin Sa'īd bin Ḥazm surnamed Abu Muḥammad was one of the greatest scholars of Spain. He was also a very prolific writer. His *magnum opus* is his *Kitāb-ul-Fiṣal fi'l-Milal wal-Aḥwāl wa'l-Niḥl* which is a book on comparative religion. His unpublished works are *Tawqul Hamama, Resala fi Faḍl al-Andalus, Nuqat-ul-Anus* and *Jamharat-ul-Ansab*. The latter book written in 450 A.H. is on the genealogy of the Arab tribes with special reference to their branches established in Spain. In India its manuscripts are preserved in the Rampur State Library, Maktabat-ul-Sindiya, Hyderabad Sind, and Oriental Public Library, Patna. The Rampur MS. contains 296 folios and the date of its transcription is 984 A.H. The Bankipore MS. comprises 163 folios, and was transcribed probably at the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. We learn

from Mr. Mas'ūd-Ḥasan, who is on the staff of the Arabic Department of the Patna College, that he has an intention to edit this book. If it is carefully edited and published, it will be welcomed by those scholars who are interested in the genealogical details of the great Arabs. A concise book on the same subject is *Nasabu 'Adnan wa Qahtan* by Al-Mubarrad. It has been edited by the well-known Professor 'Abdul 'Aziz Mayman, of the Muslim University, Aligarh.

The Royal Academy of London will hold an exhibition of Indian Arts in the coming winter. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Asutosh Museum, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and the Art Section of the Government Museum of Calcutta are sending to this exhibition some of their valuable collections. Specimens of the Moghul arts from the Arts Section of the Government Museum of Calcutta include some good portraits, *viz.*, 'Akbar and Jahangir with a Hawk,' 'A Mughal Prince' and 'Three Ladies before a Muslim Saint." Other exhibits from the same Museum include the Bull Capital of Rampurwa (the crowning piece of the Asokan Pillar); Mathura Yakshi (a $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. standing figure of Buddha from Mathura); Bodhisattva of Lalitagiri and terra-cottas of ancient, medieval and later periods. These exhibits have been sent in about fifty wooden cases, weighing over thirty-seven tons. Archæological specimens, portraits and sculpture are being collected from other parts of India also by the India Committee of the exhibition for shipment to the United Kingdom. The cost of the transit of exhibits will be borne jointly by the respective Governments of the two countries.

A publishing agency of Calcutta named S. C. Sarkar and Sons has brought out a historical book entitled *Shah Alum and His Court* by Antoine Louis Polier. This is an account of the Mughal court at Delhi between 1771 and 1779 A.D. by a Swiss engineer in the service of the East India Company. The original of this account had been lost, but a copy regarded as authentic was found some years ago. It gives some useful information regarding the struggle for power by the Mahrattas, the Jats, the Rohillas and the Sikhs. And still more interesting are the details about the activities of Francis, Monson and Clavering to unseat Warren Hastings. The book has been edited by Mr. P. C. Gupta, who has added some informative notes.

The Bihar Legislative Assembly has resolved to establish in the province a Hindustani Academy, which will perhaps more or less, be, after the model of a similar institution in the U.P. We welcome this decision of the Bihar Government. It will be recalled here that it was this province, which, nine years back, appointed a Hindustani Committee to evolve such a language for the medium of instruction in secondary and higher stages, as was likely to be agreeable to both the Hindu and the Muslim students. But this committee failed to accomplish the object for which it was convened. The Patna University has, nevertheless, decided from this year to abolish English as medium of instruction even in its curriculum of higher examinations. The preparation of text-books for such

examinations will now be watched with much interest. A greater section of the majority community of this province is, however, not in favour of Hindustani to be employed as a means of instruction. The *Indian Nation*, an independent nationalist daily of the province, calls Hindustani 'a hybrid language,' and advocates the cause of Hindi, which, according to it, must be adopted as the national language of the Indian Union. If Hindustani is actually discarded, Urdu shall have no prospect even in the land, where it was born and matured with a prosperous future before it. The glory and marvel of this language are referred to by the editor of the afore-mentioned daily also, who, in one of its leading articles under the caption of *Hindi or Hindustani* wrote, "Urdu is a rich language with a magnificent literature. It has contributed in abundant measure to the culture of India. Muslims rightly feel their culture associated with Urdu language and literature." We expect therefore that "cultural heritage of both the Hindus and the Muslims," will not be made a victim to the fume and fury of the politicians of the Indian Union, but it will be accorded a rightful rather an honourable position it really deserves.

Fatāwa-i-'Ālamgīrī has been made a subject of interesting study in several issues of *Ma'ārif* ('Azamgarh). From this we learn that Emperor 'Ālamgīr got it compiled in the eleventh year of his reign (1085 or 1086 A.H.) after spending the sum of two lakhs of rupees. The compilation was finished after a hard labour of eight years, and almost all the religious luminaries of the country participated in it. Prominent collaborators were (1) Shaikh Nizām of Burhānpūr, Gujrat, (2) Mulla Muḥammad Jamil of Jaunpur, (3) Qaḍi Muḥammad Ḥussain of Jaunpur, (4) Shaikh Wajih-ud-Din of Gopamau (Oudh), (5) Maulana 'Abdullah Chalpi, who came to India from Asia Minor, (6) Saiyyed 'Ali Akbar Sa'dullah Khānī of Delhi, (7) Maulana Saiyyed Nizam-ud-Din of Thath (Sind), (8) Qaḍi Abu'l-Khair of Thath, (9) Maulana Jalal-ud-Din Muḥammad of Machhli Shahr, Jaunpur, (10) Mulla Ḥamid of Jaunpur, (11) Shaikh Raḍi-ud-Din of Bhagalpur, Bihar, (12) Maulana, Muḥammad Shafi' of Amthua, Gaya, (13) Mulla Wajih-ur-Rab, (14) Maulana Muḥammad Fā'iq, (15) Mulla Muhammad Akram, (16) Mir Saiyyed Muḥammad of Qannauj, who was also the author of ثواقب التنزيل و تبصرة المدارج ، اللطائف العلميه and شرح فصوص الحكم. A Persian translation of *Fatāwa-i-'Ālamgīrī* is also believed to have been rendered by Maulana Chalpi 'Abdullah and some of his pupils at Emperor 'Ālamgīr's order. But not a single copy of this translation is to be found anywhere.

For those of our readers, who are interested in Maulana Baha-ud-Din A'amili's literary accomplishments, it will be a piece of information that the manuscript of one of his unpublished works namely مفتاح الفلاح is in possession of Lt. Col. Khwāja 'Abdur Rashid, I.M.S., Meerut. This book, which is on *uṣūl* and consists of 350 pages, was purchased by him in Ṭeheran in 1942. The closing lines of the MS. are :

قدحصل الفراغ من القبال بعون الملك المتعال فى اواخر شهر رجب سنة الف وثمانية

وخمسين من الهجرة فى بلدة دار السلطنت لاهور رحسها الله تعالى من الفتنة ووقع توفيق المقابلة وحصل سعادتها مع نسخة قرات عند الامام الرئيسين اعنى المصنف رحمه الله الدنيا والمثقال واحدة

Maulana Baha-ud-Dın A'amili was born at Qazwin or according to another authority at Ba'lbak (Syria) in 953 A.H. When he grew famous for his erudition and scholarship, he was attached to the court of Shāh 'Abbas Ṣafavi, who appointed him to the post of Shaikh-ul-Islam and Ra'is-ul-'Ulema. He died in 1031 A.H. at Isphahan and was buried at Ṭus. He was the author of a large number of books on different subjects of which

(*i*) اسرار البلاغة (*ii*) تشريح الافلاك (*iii*) خلاصة الحساب (*iv*) كشكول المخلاة and (*v*) وسيلة الفوز have been printed. But the following books of his are still unpublished

(1)	العروة الوثقى	(7)	جامع عباسى
(2)	صراط مستقيم	(8)	مفتاح الفلاح
(3)	عين الحياة	(9)	تهذيب
(4)	حبل المتين فى مزايا الفرقان المبين	(10)	زبده
(5)	مشرق الشمسين	(11)	رساله هلاليه
(6)	شرح اربعين	(12)	رساله اصطرلابيه

Baha-ud-Din's detailed account of life and works is to be found in خلاصة الاثر Vol. III, pp. 440-454 and روضات الجنات p. 32.

Our readers may feel interested to know that a manuscript of the *mathnavi* زاد المسافرين is in the private collection of Maulvi Maqbool Aḥmad Ṣamdāni, Yahyapur, Allahabad. This is one of the various works of Ḥadrat Shaikh Amir Ḥussaini, a spiritual disciple of Ḥadrat Shaikh Baha-ud-Din Zakariya Multani. Besides being an eminent saint, Ḥadrat Shaikh Amir Ḥussaini (d. 72 A.H.) was a meritorious poet and erudite author of a good number of books, which deal with some or other aspects of sufism. They are (*i*) نزهة الارواح (*ii*) الارواح (*iii*) صراط مستقيم (*iv*) طرب المجالس (*v*) زاد المسافرين (*vi*) كنز الرموز and (*vii*) ديوان. Descriptions of these compilations may be found in the catalogue of Persian Manuscripts, British Museum, Vol. II, p. 608, catalogue of the Library of the King of Oudh, p. 430 and *Nafhat-ul-Uns* by Maulana 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Jami. The manuscript which is in the library of Maulvi Maqbool Aḥmad, consists of 1456 verses, having eight different *maqalas*. A printed and complete copy of Shaikh Amir Ḥussaini's another compilation نزهته الارواح is in the possession of Ḥakim Khalil-ur-Raḥmān Riḍvi, Sialkot. This comprises 86 pages and 28 *fasls*.

S. S.

FOREIGN

SAUDI ARABIA

Inscriptions in Himyarite :

DR. M. HAMIDULLAH, who recently returned from Arabia, has discovered in Madinah several old inscriptions of considerable importance. In 1939, he had discovered there some Arabic inscriptions as old as the time of the Prophet (vide *Islamic Culture*, 1939, pp. 426-439).

The present discovery consists of not only several very old Arabic inscriptions, but three or four others in Himyarite and Aramaic characters. We shall have to wait until they are made ready for publication. However, it is to be noted that the south Arabian Himyarite inscriptions somewhere in the north of Madinah are very uncommon. They are found on some rocks, just outside the southern gate of the present walled city, and these rocks are the site of extensive ruins.

Unique Manuscripts :

The *Kitāb an-Nabāt* of Abū-Ḥanīfah ad-Dīnawarīy had long been considered lost to us. In an uncatalogued mélange in a library of Madinah, three chapters of this very important work have been preserved in good condition. These chapters deal with woods used for producing fire (as flint), and the colour of the smokes of different woods when burnt, etc.

Another small yet interesting monograph in the same library is on the names of the *Aṣḥāb aṣ-Ṣuffaḥ*, a classified list in alphabetical order extending over several pages. It is anonymous.

Local Publications :

Among the few publications of recent date in Arabia, outstanding is a biography of the Prophet (*Ḥayāt Saiyid al-'Arab*) by Ḥusain 'Abdallāh Bāsalāmah, who died recently in Mecca. He was a member of the Legislative Council of Arabia. The main feature of the book is an effort on the part of the author to locate all the places which occur in the life of the Prophet. No man is better suited for the task than a son of the soil with special aptitude and experience for the work. It is in four volumes.

The Supervisory Board of the Zubaidah Canal in Mecca has published an interesting monograph, both in Arabic and Urdu, on the history of the repair of this famous source of drinkable water of the holy city of Islam, during the last 12 centuries. Very important work has also been done in the Saudi regime, and the supply of water in this canal has now

so increased that it is used even for irrigation and gardening purposes. Mecca is no more " a valley without cultivation.' The city is now surrounded for miles by green fields of maize, potatoes, tomatoes and mangoes. Many old wells of sweet water have been discovered and restored. A school of agriculture is also attached to the famous Madrasah Ṣaulatiyah.

Miscellania :

Giant strides have been taken during the recent war to develop the agricultural possibilities of Ḥijāz, especially of Madinah. Wheat, barley, date-palm and many other cereals are abundantly cultivated and even exported from Madinah. An expert has been appointed by the government to advise the local cultivators.

A scheme to educate and teach the beduins to lead a settled life is also going on. Musaijid, the *Bailsān* oil producing centre, is also the scene of a Madrasah aṣ-Ṣaḥrā', which is situated in the sarai built by Hyderabad subscription for the use of the pilgrims.

Several girls' schools have now been opened in Madinah where they are taught only reading, not writing. English language has been made compulsory in all schools for boys. The services of dozens of Egyptian teachers have been acquired for government schools in al-Ḥijāz.

Besides the old weekly *Umm al-Qurā*, another weekly *al-Bilād as-Sa'ūdiyah* has been appearing for several years. The *Jaridah al-Madinah*, of the Prophet's town, ceased to be published during the war, and arrangements are being made to start it again. Another weekly, *Shamsul Arab* caters to the needs of the Arabic-knowing population of the petrol town of Ẓahrān.

The monthly *al-Manhal* is edited by 'Abdul Quddūs al-Anṣārīy for the last several years and is very interesting. A list of the contents for Vol. 6, No. 11 (Dhul Qa'dah, 1365 H.) is reproduced here which will give an idea of the scope and standard of the magazine :—

Religious policy and its influence on the administration of temporal affairs. ١ - السياسة الدينية و اثرها فى تنظيم الشئون الدنيوية

Genius of King Ibn Sa'ūd ٢ - عبقرية الملك ابن سعود

This article contains, among others, a case which was recently referred to Ibn Sa'ūd by the Court for orders, in which the responsibility of a person falling from a tree so as to kill a person who was sleeping on the ground below, had to be established.

Economics ٣ - اقتصاديات

Nejd ٤ - نجد

Evolution of Education in Saudi Arabia. ٥ - تطور التعليم بالمملكة العربية السعودية

Az-Zubair ibn Bakkār. ٦ - الزبير بن بكار

Arabic literature, will it become a world literature? ٧ - الادب العربى و هل يكون عالميا؟

Mecca, its social progress under Ibn Sa'ūd. ٨ - مكة، تطورها العمرانى فى العهد السعودى

The House of Al-Arqam Ibn Abi'l-Arqam.	٩ - دار الارقم بن ابى الارقم
Morals and Military Training.	١٠ - الاخلاق و التربية العسكرية
'Ulaiyah, daughter of Caliph al-Mahdiy.	١١ - علية بنت المهدى
Arabs under the Abbasides.	١٢ - العرب فى العهد العباسى
Al-Falāḥ School in Jidda.	١٣ - مدرسة الفلاح بجدة

Another monthly *al-Ḥajj* has just appeared, the second issue of the first year is on our table as we write these lines. (September.)

The *al-Ḥajj* writes that a survey has already been taken up for constructing a railway line, important for the pilgrims, between Mecca-Jidda-Medinah. The Ḥijāz railway, connecting Medinah with Syria and Egypt is, at last, being restored. Another line to connect Riyāḍ, the capital, with the Persian Gulf, *via* Ẓahrān petrol field, on Ra's Tannūrah, is in actual progress.

YAMAN

Dr. Hamidullah has brought from Yaman some important MSS., *viz.* (1) *Tajrid al-Mu'tamad*, by Abul-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn 'Alīy al-Basrīy, a Mu'tazilite, on jurisprudence (uṣūl fiqh). The MS. is very old, the first page is missing, and words on many pages have been eaten by white ant. So far no other copies of the work have been traced. (2) *Tafsir* of Zaid Ibn 'Alīy (d. 120 H.) is the oldest commentary of the Qur'ān after that of Ibn 'Abbās. (3) *Sharḥ-Urjūzah Ibn Sina fit-Ṭibb*, by Ibn Rushd, is a very rare, though not a unique, work in the world.

Education is being modernised, on Egyptian model, in Yaman. The high school in the capital of Ṣan'a, and the middle schools in Hudaida, Ta'izz, etc., are now manned by Egyptians, with a bias for agriculture. After the lead given by a small museum in Ṣan'a, the Ta'izz school has also started to collect items of Yamanite archæology. Some pieces of excavation in Ẓafār, near Yarīm, were presented to it by Dr. Hamidullah.

The monthly government gazette *al-Imān* is the only periodical so far in the country. Radio, with dry batteries, has penetrated into the country everywhere. The number of motor cars has reached, within the last decade, from almost zero to several thousands, and the government has been forced to repair the roads. As the import duties are only 12½ per cent. *ad valorem*, opening of new roads to motor traffic will have far-reaching economic and cultural consequences.

The membership of the UNO for Yaman is enough to show that this country, where Sabean primitiveness still prevails, is also determined to fall in line with the modern civilised world.

The idea that a complete copy of Ḥamdāniy's *Jaziratul-'Arab* is found in the royal library is not substantiated. Only vols. 2, 4 and 8 have been discovered, some in the palace library, others in that of the Grand Mosque of Ṣan'a. Each of these libraries contains about two thousand MSS., the descriptive catalogue of the latter has been printed. This printing

is extremely rare as any other publication of Yaman, since, generally 50 to 100 copies are considered there more than enough. Many old works of Zaidite authors on Ḥadith and Fiqh are printed in Ṣan'a. The Palace Library contains, among other rarities, Vol. 4 of *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* by Balādhurīy. It may help the Hebrew University people who are toiling on the unique MS. of Istanbul. The library in the Grand Mosque at Hudaida contains a Persian work on the observation of eclipses for over a quarter century, between 1171 and 1197 H. It is anonymous.

The biggest private library is in Murawa'ah. Zabīd has still many good collections. However the poverty and ignorance of the people is doing havoc to private collections with a deplorable rapidity. Still, notes of MSS. seen by Dr. Hamidullah represent hundreds of entries.

TURKEY

The *Graphic*, of London, dated 13th August last, is responsible for the news that the teaching of the Qur'ān, banned by the Atāturk, has now been resumed. The last Ḥajj witnessed a dozen pilgrims from even Ankara.

Oriental Research :

The new trends in Turkish foreign policy are reflected even in her literary activity. An "International Society for Oriental Research" (Milletlerarasi Ṣarḳ Tetḳiḳleri Cemiyeti) has been founded with such renowned members as Drs. Faut Köprülü, Helmut Ritter, 'Adnan Adivar and others. The office is located in Istambul, Tahtakale, Prevuyans Han, No. 37-38. The membership fee is T. £15 per annum.

The wealth of Turkey in original sources of MSS., etc., is unrivalled in the world. The founders are convinced that "Oriental Studies," especially after the destruction caused by the World War II, may more quickly and effectively be reconsolidated and extended by means of international co-operation than by means of separate endeavours on the part of individual nations.

The Society proposes to publish a periodical which shall serve Oriental Studies, in the broadest sense, by accepting contributions in all important European languages and in such Oriental languages as may be deemed interesting.

The Society also proposes, in so far as its resources permit, to aid and support other literary undertakings, and when possible, to aid scholars and institutions by providing them with means of research, or the materials they are wanting in. We welcome the attempt.

M. H.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

DR. ZAKĪ 'ALĪ, Islam in the World; 434 pp; Publisher, Shaikh Muḥammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1947. Rs. 8.

DR. Zakī 'Alī, an Egyptian Doctor of Medicine, and now Professor of Arabic at the University of Geneva has, besides the book under review, two other books on Islam to his credit, *viz.*, *Glimpses of Islam*, in which he has collaborated with Prince Agha Khan, and *l'Europe et l'Islam*, and the present work may be said to be a comprehensive and an extended form of these two works but, of course, ranging over a much wider field. The book is divided into two unequal parts, Part I consisting of 9 chapters and covering 156 pages, and Part II just 4 chapters covering 268 pages. There is also an appendix containing statistics of the population of the Muslim world.

The author, quite rightly, begins with the inception of Islam and takes us, in the first part, through chapters dealing with the Islamic social order, history of Islamic law, Islamic polity, expansion and 'evolution' (*sic*) of Islam and its contact with the West. It is a pity that he has dealt very briefly with the personality and the mission of the Prophet of Islam which deserved ampler treatment, but on the other hand the chapter on the Caliphate is more thorough and we find there mention being made of precepts which should serve as guide to every political thinker and politician today, and if acted upon, would bring peace and comfort to the 'modern' tortured humanity. We who are used to the blood-thirsty policy of certain western countries, and to murder, stabbing vivisection of women and children, young and old, see a clear light in the maxim of the first Caliph who ordered the commander of his army: "Be sure you do not oppress people, but advise them in all their affairs, and take care to do that which is right and just....If you gain victory, kill not women and children nor old people....When you enter into covenant stand by it, and be as good as your word...." We also read the terms of a letter signed by the Muslim general to the people of Armenia in which the conqueror guaranteed the safety of their lives, properties, churches, temples and city-walls. But it must be remembered that these precepts are in their turn based on the principles held sacred and acted upon by the Apostle of Islam himself, as is clearly evidenced by his treaties with the Jews and the Christians, his treatment of the non-Muslims right through his sojourn at Medina, his almost bloodless conquest of Mecca, and finally on the occasion of his Pilgrimage of Farewell when he delivered his great Sermon on the Mount Arafat which was verily a message for the emancipation of humanity. It is these principles on which the whole of Islamic polity is based and if we study carefully the history of the world after the advent of Islam we would see that it was the Prophet's teaching which the East and the West have tried to adopt in all but name.

In Part II of the work the author rightly stresses the cosmopolitan aspect of Islam which knows no distinction of clime, race or colour, and it is well that this point should be made as clear as possible just when we are passing through a wave of 'homelands' for the Muslims everywhere. For Islam knows no homelands, and God's earth is the only limit to the Muslim's 'country.' The author rightly says that one of the peculiarities of the Islamic world is that whatever happens in one part of the Islamic world has its repercussions in other parts and touches the right point when he states that nationalism among the Muslims is the result mostly of non-Muslim aggression and the necessity of defending all they hold dear by the methods adopted by our antagonists. Dr. Zakī 'Alī says that the pseudo-nationalistic evolution of Islamic countries is thus due to three factors—effort at emancipation, self-reconstruction and "modernization" in order to fall in line with the rest of the world. The chapter on the "Emancipation of Islam" which should have been named "Emancipation of the Muslims," deals with the modern history of the Muslim states and gives a bird's eye-view of the Muslims in the four continents. He has some stirring things to tell, such as the announcement by the first British High Commissioner of Palestine, himself a Jew, that the policy of Britain was to allow the immigration of the Jews to the extent as would, in the end, warrant the creation of a Jewish state. The author shows the Fascist Italian policy with regard to the Muslims of Tripoli in all its nakedness when he tells us that the Sennusi Shaikhs were actually thrown overboard from aeroplanes on their own villages during the Mussolinian regime. These and other matters related by Dr. Zakī 'Alī are an eye-opener to the reader.

It is a pity, however that care has not been taken to read the proofs, and in spite of excellent printing a large number of typographical mistakes have crept in. Moreover the learned Doctor is prone, at times, to contradict himself, especially in regard to Indian politics. Thus he says on p. 308 that the Congress "was made more representative in its composition until it claimed to voice Hindu India exclusively," while on p. 313 he attributes the anti-Muslim policy solely to Hindu Mahasabha, and a couple of pages later he says that it was after 1935 that the Muslims began to "come round from the anæsthetic of supra-communal nationalism which had been administered by the Congress party." His reason for the resentment of the Bengalis against the Curzonian partition was that the Hindus of Bengal disliked being under a Muslim majority, but this is not true as there was hardly any question of the rule by the majority in the India of Lord Curzon's time. Then it seems strange to read that Gandhi's salt agitation was due to his "proclamation of the second campaign of his religious warfare" and that the Cabinet Plan of May 16, 1946, envisaged a central government "to control defence, communications, foreign affairs and taxes." These and other minor *faux pas* such as the one under which the island of Bali is made a Buddhist settlement, are, after all minor points in a book replete with information. It is hoped that in the second edition the author will deal with portions of Part II and as objectively as he has dealt with other portions of this Part as well as with Part I.

H. K. S.

MODERN TRENDS IN ISLAM: by H. A. R. Gibb, Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford. Published by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, Royal 8vo. pp. 141, XII. Price $2.50.

THIS book embodies the Haskell lectures in comparative Religion delivered by the author at the University of Chicago in 1945. Professor Gibb needs no introduction to the students of Islam. He is a well-known authority on the Muslim world. He edited the well-known composite volume *Whither Islam* in 1932, which for many years remained an excellent source of

information on the condition of the Muslim world. In these lectures, the Professor gives an analysis of modern trends in Islamic religious thought. He justly complains that Muslims themselves have not attempted any such analysis, though it is obvious that Islamic religious thought could not have remained static during these centuries, with the impact of all the intellectual ferment in the world. "The outstanding exception is the Indian scholar and poet, Sir Muhammad Iqbal who, in his six lectures on *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, faces outright the question of re-formulating the basic ideas of Muslim theology." Professor Gibb also points out the difficulty of his task by referring to its magnitude. The world of Islam today consists of a large number of nations spread from Morocco to Indonesia and it is almost impossible "to enter into the minds of" all these peoples. He has, therefore, limited himself mostly to the Arabs and the Indians, and even then the information about Indian Islam is second-hand. The author considers this "a better position to be in than the reverse one; for notwithstanding the greater numbers and the more varied intellectual activities among Indian Muslims, it is the Arabs who still constitute the real core of Islam." Professor Gibb has not examined the significance of the fact that Turkey, the pioneer of external modernism in Islam, has not produced any corresponding tendencies in religious thought as such, and, indeed, the decades which saw great social and political revolutions, have been sterile in producing any religious literature at all. There must have been many adjustments in the religious beliefs of such Turks—and they are in an overwhelming majority—as still believe in Islam. The same is true of Iran and Afghanistan, two countries trying to tread in the footsteps of Turkey. Yet another significant fact is that in spite of extreme modernism without any attempt at conciliation with the teachings of Islam, at least Turkey and Iran are in the midst of an Islamic revival and it seems certain that Afghan modernism and craze for "looking west" will not go too far. If the author had examined these facts, he would have been more successful, perhaps, in reaching tenable conclusions.

It is doubtful if the angle from which Professor Gibb tries to understand the problem is likely to yield any tangible results. He defines his own religious beliefs in the following words, "the metaphors in which Christian doctrine is traditionally enshrined satisfy me intellectually as expressing symbolically the highest range of spiritual truth which I can conceive, provided that they are interpreted not in terms of anthropomorphic dogma but as general concepts, related to our changing views of the nature of the universe." He tries to find a similar attitude in the Muslim mind. Now whereas he is right in trying to discover the progress Muslims have made in interpreting the fundamental truths of Islam in the light of our enhanced understanding of the world and humanity, he searches in vain when he tries to find Muslim attempts at "recasting from time to time" "the symbolism" of the highest spiritual truths in Islam. The reason of Professor Gibb's disappointment is not that there is no symbolism whatsoever in the narration of spiritual truths in Islam but that it is so thin and obvious that it does not require "any recasting." This explains the attitude of the Muslims including those who have received western secular education towards the Qur'ān. As the book does not present any barrier to the intellect, there has not been much attempt at the re-interpretation of its metaphysics. It is, therefore, not surprising that "the Koran itself has remained almost untouched by any breath of evolutionary criticism."

Professor Gibb complains of a lack of historical sense among the Muslims today and the strength of romanticism, by which he means uncritical idealisation of the past. This charge is partially true; and the rise of uncritical romanticism among Muslims is more reprehensible because they laid, in the early and Mediæval ages of Islam, great emphasis on objectivity and merciless criticism of individuals and their deeds. Unfortunately the West first evolved the technique

of converting history into religious or political propaganda and introduced into it bias and prejudice. The Western Orientalists, guided by a missionary zeal to demolish the structure of Islam, took up extreme and unbalanced opinions and traditions, tore them from their context, and used them to attack Islam. They ignored their own history and idealised it when they attacked Islam. The result was a similar movement in Islam. When Muslim history was painted in the darkest colours by Christian writers, the only natural reaction could be to paint it in rosy hues. It should however be remembered that this is true only of laymen ; Muslim historians have, if anything, a comparatively harsher attitude towards their own history, partly because of the harshness of the original authorities and partly because of the unsympathetic attitude of the European authors, whose works exercise too great an influence on the educated Muslims. But Professor Gibb is really driving at something quite different when he is attacking Muslim romanticism. He is thinking of the life of the Prophet and the question of the authorship of the Qur'ān. He is a little unjust in these respects. He should remember that Jesus has been so greatly idealised that he has ceased to be a historical personage, indeed he is no longer a man, because he has been attributed divinity. No idealisation of Muḥammad can be greater than that and, thanks to the historical sense of the Muslims, the Prophet continues to remain a human being. As Muḥammad is historical, as his life and deeds have been recorded, Muslim idealisation of him can never lose its moorings. There is undoubted historical authenticity for the verbal accuracy of the Qur'ān, and therefore historical criticism of the correctness of the Text will not yield any results. Our Christian missionary critics attempt it without carrying conviction. The question whether Qur'ān is revelation or fabrication is a matter mostlyof faith, though it can be easily demonstrated that history tends to confirm the Muslim faith. Beyond this history cannot go.

It should, by now, be clear that Professor Gibb searches in vain for a movement in Islam to question the fundamentals of faith and to re-state them. The reason is not that Muslims fight shy of the need, but that they do not feel the need, because the elastic simplicity of Islam does not create the same tension in their minds as the fundamentals of Christianity produce in the minds of Christians.

Professor Gibb's criticism of the failure of the *ulema* to revise the legal system is justified.

The book is well written, and is interesting. It is full of information and amply repays perusal. The author discusses a number of problems facing the Muslim world with remarkable insight and his remarks about pseudo-modernism and the contradictions involved in it are illuminating. One does not find that intolerable attitude of superiority which a number of Christian Orientalists adopt when writing about Islam. The book is critical of modern-day Islam, but the criticism nowhere transgresses the limits of academic propriety.

I. H. Q.

GLORY OF ISLAM: by Muhammad Amin, Bar.-at-Law. Published by Madina Publications, Church Road, Lahore, pp. 248, cloth and bound. Price Rs. 3.

THIS small book is an anthology. The first two pieces are by the author who is a keen missionary of Islam. The other pieces are by various authors, mostly European, though there are extracts from Maulana Jalalu'ddin Rumi, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, and Swami Vivekananda as well. These passages in one way or another extol some aspects of Islam and coming from staunch followers of other faiths are, to a limited extent, a testimony to the excellence of Islam. The introduction is by Rao Bahadur O. Krishnamurthy in which he speaks well not only of the book but also of Islam. Books of this type are of considerable value because they reassure such Muslims as suffer

from an inferiority complex and also because they attract the attention of some non-Muslims. Beyond this, it is doubtful if such literature serves any useful purpose. To the believers, Islam is true because it is true, not because it is praised reluctantly or even with enthusiasm by a few non-Muslims. To the discerning non-Muslims, a book written with self-confidence to present the intrinsic worth of Islam would be more welcome. In the last resort no faith is judged by the testimonials of others, but by its own merit and the quality of its followers. For a book of this size, the errata is formidable. It will be interesting to those who want to read what others have to say about Islam.

I. H. Q.

AFTER SECULARISM WHAT?: by Muḥammad Maẓhar-u'd-din Ṣiddiqi. Published by Maktabah-i-Jamā'at-i-Islāmi, Dāru'l-Islām, Pathankot, Punjab, paper cover, pp. 56. Price 0-12-0.

THIS small pamphlet argues that a state or people discarding the guidance of religious truth will plunge itself and others into misery, and, to illustrate its thesis, the author quotes apt happenings from modern history. Western democracies, Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and Socialist Russia all have been instrumental in bringing misery through avowed or unavowed godlessness. Few will disagree with the author's contention that only politics based on spiritual truth and righteousness can bring real happiness to long-suffering humanity, but, also, fewer still will discard greed and unrighteousness in politics.

I. H. Q.

RECONSTRUCTION BY WAY OF THE SOIL: by G. T. Wrench. Published by Faber and Faber Ltd., 24, Russell Square, London, Royal 8vo., pp. 262, cloth and boards. Price 12sh. 6d. net.

THIS is a most remarkable book. It is absorbingly interesting, revolutionary in its thesis and most convincing. It is agronomy from a new angle, but, at the same time, it is much more. It is the history of the relation between the soil and civilisation dealing with all lands where the wisdom or folly of its peoples has brought happiness or misery; and wisdom or folly in this context can be defined as the attitude towards the soil. Students of history are only too familiar with the downfall of civilisations where smiling lands have turned into dry deserts or unwholesome marshes. Invariably these catastrophes, as Dr. Wrench so convincingly proves, have been the results of man's greed and lack of knowledge regarding the soil. This folly has not yet come to an end and threatens to convert an overwhelming portion of the earth's crush into barren and unproductive desert; the proportions of this problem are so great that entire continents are threatened with disaster which does not loom in the distance but is terribly near, so near indeed that humanity must save itself. Put so baldly the warning sounds fantastic, but when one reads the impressive evidences with which it is supported in the book, there remains no scope for even moderate scepticism.

The evils of soil erosion, alkalinisation, floods and drying up of perennial sources of irrigation are generally known, though their extent and magnitude are not so familiar to the laymen. One of their causes is also fairly widely known, the evil of cutting down forests. Those who are interested in the problem are also vaguely aware of the existence of a school of thought which disapproves of chemical fertilisers and tractors. But Dr. Wrench goes much deeper. He starts from the biological truth that life depends on the soil and water, and is gradually driven to attack the very basis of modern life, big finance which is but a glorified synonym of the word greed. Soil can yield food, health and prosperity, but when it is made to yield dividend and money its rape begins. An economy based on money in its modern sense, when it means only a mathematical symbol, will lead to "the rebellion of the soil," which means death. Once again it is not possible to do justice to

this thesis, deserving of careful study, in the course of a review. Dr. Wrench piles up such convincing evidence that doubt seems to be irrelevant.

Similarly it seems impossible to controvert Dr. Wrench's argument that soil and agriculture can be maintained only by maintaining the life cycle of the soil and those who derive their nourishment from it. All that is taken out from the soil, whether it belongs to the vegetable kingdom or the animal, must ultimately be returned to it. This is a strong and sensible plea in favour of organic manure. But, says the chemist, when I know the chemicals which are essential to plant life, why should chemical or artificial manure not serve the same purpose? The chemist also points to the impressive increase in the produce when artificial manures are sensibly employed. Dr. Wrench's answer is that the chemist's knowledge is imperfect. It is not possible to find out all the chemicals which the soil needs for perfect agriculture, and, in any case, artificial manuring has resulted in innumerable new diseases which now afflict the plant life and also in loss of that indefinable, but unmistakable quality of yield-richness of flavour. He could also have added the argument that experience has shown that where chemical fertilisers have been used for a long period without a liberal addition of organic manure, the soil has shown signs of rapid decay.

Dr. Wrench believes in farming by peasants having economic holdings, not of too big a size which do not permit intensive farming. He advocates a new economy, an economy in harmony with the soil and not based on modern capitalism. He pleads for a system wherein foreign trade and industry are in tune with agriculture and not based merely on greed, because it is the desire for quick return which is at the bottom of the trouble. This desire is dictated by the requirements of money economy.

The new Muslim state of Pakistan is essentially an agricultural country. Large portions of the Panjab are even now devastated by soil erosion; some new agricultural colonies are fast turning into irredeemable marshes, and Sind is already face to face with large-scale alkalinity. Our leaders should, therefore, read this book carefully. Muslims will find additional satisfaction in the book that the system of agrarian administration and economy built up by Muslim rulers on the sound foundations of Islamic ethics and law has found more than ample justification in the pages of this most illuminating book; indeed the author holds up Spain and the Empire of the Abbasid caliphs as model empires supporting a civilisation which embodied the principles so ably advocated in this book.

I. H. Q.

SHORT STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY: by S. R. Sharma. Edited by Jagmohan Mahajan Shivaji. Published by the National Information and Publications Ltd., Bombay.

THE National Information and Publications Ltd. is rendering a yeoman service to the people of India, by bringing out a series of Short Studies, which will cover the whole range of Indian history. These booklets, everyone of which will consist of 48 pages, are meant to cater for the needs and the ever-growing demand of the common persons who would like to know the history of his motherland, in a short but comprehensive form and at such a low price as Re. 1.

The booklet under review "Shivaji" by S. R. Sharma is one of the series just published. Professor S. R. Sharma needs no introduction to our readers, who know well his works such as the "Maratha History Re examined," "The Crescent in India," and "The Mughal Empire in India" (3 volumes).

Indeed few personalities in the history of our country have exercised such fascination as "Shivaji" the founder of the Maratha Empire during the seventeenth century A.D. Professor S. R. Sharma gives a comparative study of Shivaji and Sher Shah in his introduction, followed by a short chapter in the study of antecedents of Shivaji showing the degrading conditions prevailing in the Deccan peninsula and how stubbornly

Malik Ambar tried to stave off the onslaught of the Mughals in the Deccan. The early life the author mentions how much Shivaji owed to his mother and to the inspiration of his religion. Tolerant of other faiths, he deeply venerated Muslim saints and granted rent-free lands to meet the expenses of illumination of Muslim shrines and mosques.

The last two chapters deserve special notice.

The booklet is accurate in details and is well written. But what most strikes one are din subheadings which focus one's attention in the colourful personality of Shivaji, and enthuse interest in the perusal of this booklet. Similar headings one comes across in Prof. Sardesai's book, "New History of the Marathas," of which we had the pleasure of reviewing in these columns.

A short bibliography is given at the close of the booklet, in case its readers would like to know something more about Shivaji.

We congratulate the Publishers and wish them success in such an admirable enterprise.

K. S. L.

SHORT STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY: edited by Jagmohan Mahajan. The Bahmani Kingdom by H. K. Sherwani. Published by National Information and Publications, Ltd., Bombay.

THIS is another booklet of the series of Short Studies in Indian history which deserves one's careful notice.

The Bahmani period of history of the Deccan is perhaps more demarcated than the corresponding period of the history of India; and yet very few scholars have given a serious thought to this important subject.

Professor H. K. Sherwani has rendered a valuable service to the students of the Deccan History by contributing a number of books on the Bahmani period. His work on Mahmud Gawan, the Great Bahmani Wazir, is well known.

In this booklet Professor H. K. Sherwani narrates the series of events that led to the birth of an independent Deccan; and goes on to the Bahmanis of Ahsanabad, Gulbarga. Then he covers up the work of the Bahmanis of Muhammadabad, Bidar. With the death of the last Sultan as he puts it "disappeared the glory, what was left of it—of the Bahmani dynasty."

Prof. H. K. Sherwani lucidly describes the great Madrasa of Mahmud Gawan—the Nalanda of the South, thus, "Mahmud Gawan's college stands today like a resplendent gem recalling the erstwhile greatness of its city. The three-storied building, its frontage decorated by patterned tiles of myriad hues, its halls, its massive walls, its grand arches, its staff of learned men from India and overseas, must have made Bidar the rendezvous of all who wished to drink at the fountain of knowledge provided by the great minister."

Having quoted the description, etc., of this once famous Madrasa of Gawan, we feel it would not be out of place to say that there exists a unique Firman of Bahmani Sultan bearing the signature and seals of the Great Minister, pertaining to this famous college giving all the details, which has not been utilised, so far as we know, by any scholar in India.

The booklet is well written, readable and clear in presentation.

We tender our compliments to the Publishers and hope that in the Series to follow, they will not fail to maintain their high standard.

K. S. L.

NOTICE

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Ed., I. C.